

BULLETIN OF  
The John Rylands Library  
Manchester

EDITED BY THE LIBRARIAN

*Published with the aid of the Francis Neilson Fund*

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VOL. 43

SEPTEMBER, 1960

No. 1

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NOTES AND NEWS

THE Ripon Cathedral copy of the "Vocabulary in French and English" or the "Book for Travellers", printed by William Caxton at Westminster about the year 1483 recently attracted much attention when it appeared in the sale-room and brought the highest price ever paid for a Caxton.

THE  
FRONTIS-  
PIECE

In 1811 the copy now in the John Rylands Library, the first page of which is reproduced opposite, was purchased for Lord Spencer from Miller of Albemarle Street, having previously belonged to Lister Parker. At the time Dibdin wrote his description for the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* he believed this to be the only perfect copy, since it only lacks a blank leaf. Some time later, however, he discovered a second copy, for in 1815 whilst visiting Ripon Cathedral Library, he examined a "melancholy looking" volume and found it to be Caxton's Boethius. He continues: "Yet the book is unusually thick. I persevere: and find, at the end, nothing more or less than a beautiful and perfect copy of Caxton's 'Book for Travellers'."

The volume is not strictly a vocabulary but is cast in the form of a narrative in French with an English translation in a parallel column. The prologue and epilogue are probably the work of Caxton himself while the text is adapted from a French and Flemish phrase-book, "Le Livre des Mestiers".

In January the Library received on deposit from the Rt. Hon. Lord Newton the muniments of his family, the Leghs of Lyme Park, co. Chester. The Legh family is one of great antiquity in Lancashire and Cheshire. Its association with Lyme extends over some six hundred years, Lyme Handley having been granted in 1346 to Sir Thomas Danyers, whose daughter and heiress Margaret married in 1388 Sir Piers Legh. With this marriage the family of Legh of Lyme originated. There appears to have been a house on the site in the 15th century, but it was not until the middle of the 16th that the then Sir Piers Legh, seventh in succession, built the present house, which became the family's principal residence. During the reign of Charles II Richard Legh (d. 1687) introduced a number of changes and in 1720 his son Peter Legh commissioned the Palladian architect Leoni to transform the house into the building we see today.

THE MUNI-  
MENTS OF  
THE LEGHS  
OF LYME

The family muniments are extensive and contain a wide variety of records. In date they cover some eight centuries. One of their outstanding features is the large collection of family correspondence, which runs from 1580 to the present century. Not only does this number several thousands of letters, but something like half of it is 17th century. A particularly interesting portion is that dating from the period between the Restoration of Charles II and the death of Queen Anne. Apart from letters of more general, political and social interest, it includes a number of items concerning Monmouth and his journey (1682) into Cheshire to recruit support and letters which give an account of his army before Sedgemoor and his execution on Tower Hill. There is, too, a series of informative professional news-letters (1679-1687) written from London to Richard Legh at Lyme, as well as letters from members of the family in London detailing the current political news and gossip. Another group, from various Earls of Derby, deals with their administrative duties as Lords Lieutenant and as Master Foresters of Macclesfield; together with other series in the collection it illustrates with remarkable clarity the manner in which the influential landowners of Lancashire and Cheshire arranged amongst themselves the conduct of local affairs. The collection

CORRESPON-  
DENCE



is rich in personal correspondence and contains some hundreds of letters on family, local and social topics exchanged by the Leghs, their friends, and families to whom they were allied by marriage, such as the Gerards, Masters, Saviles, Banks of Winstanley, co. Lancaster, Chicheleys of Wimpole, co. Cambridge, and Wards of Capesthorpe, co. Chester. Certain of these materials were drawn on by Lady Newton in her *The House of Lyme* (1917) and *Lyme Letters, 1660-1760* (1925), but, admirable as these volumes are, the extent of the collection made selection inevitable and much of value to the social and political historian remains which she was unable to include.

Lady Newton's two volumes have drawn attention to the interest and value of the correspondence. The rest of the collection, equally important for the student, has been less fortunate and has remained compara-

DEEDS AND  
ALLIED  
DOCUMENTS

tively unknown. A full survey is hardly possible here, but there are certain broader aspects which may be mentioned. The muniments of title relate to the family's estates in Lancashire, Cheshire and Hampshire. The first two counties are most fully represented and, within them, Newton, Ashton, Dalton, Golborne, Haydock, Ince, Lowton and Warrington (Lancashire) and Lyme Handley, Disley, Grappenhall and Macclesfield (Cheshire). Among the early records are some 900 medieval charters, the bulk concerning properties in Lancashire and particularly in Newton, Dalton and Haydock; they range in date from the 12th century to the 15th and include, among other items of interest, a 14th century inventory of muniments of Haydock and Bold. Newton and other Lancashire and Cheshire manors are also represented by several boxes of 17th and 18th century court records and papers while the estate correspondence contains an unusually interesting group, that for the years 1770 to 1790, which comprises several thousands of letters and papers. Apparently everything for these twenty years has survived, providing an unusually detailed record for so short a period. There is a considerable quantity of documents respecting the churches and chapels at Newton, Lowton, Warrington, Wigan, Prestbury and Stockport and many 17th century letters and papers concerning schools at Winwick, Macclesfield, Norbury

and Disley. Numerous personal documents relating to the Leghs occur throughout the collection, such as marriage settlements, appointments, commissions and wills. Over fifty wills, in fact, are found, the earliest being of the 14th century; of these, twenty-eight are of members of the Legh family, dating from 1521 to the middle of the 19th century. The collection also contains two boxes of late 18th century election papers relating to Newton, including poll books, returns and expense accounts. Finally, the sigillographer should find much of interest in these muniments. The medieval heraldic seals are particularly fine and numerous and, among other seals, reference should be made to those of the Abbot of Cockersand (1383) and of St. Mary's Abbey, York (1429, imperf.) and to a perfect example of the rare Commonwealth Seal (1648) of the County Palatine of Chester and County of Flint.

Since the last issue of the *Bulletin* there have been two additions to our collection of German incunabula, a side of the Spencer collection of early printed books which was not so representative, as regards later presses, as his Italian collection. The earlier is a copy of Matthias de Cracovia, *Dialogus rationis et conscientiae*, printed at Speier in either 1483 or 1484. It is a slim quarto of 24 leaves, and was acquired at one of the Signet Library sales at Sotheby's. It was printed by the brothers Johann and Conrad Hist and is an important addition to our collection, since the partnership of these two brothers had not hitherto been represented in the Library, although we possess several works printed later by Conrad Hist working alone. In addition to their output at Speier it is suggested that a group of books printed at Heidelberg during 1485-86 and ascribed to an anonymous printer, "The Printer of the Lindelbach", may have been their work. They appear to have been absent from Speier during those two years, and the first book they printed in that city after the interval is in the type of the Lindelbach printed at Heidelberg, a copy of which is in the Library. The author, too, is of interest. He was a renowned scholar and preacher, who was born at Cracow c. 1335 and died at Pisa in 1410. He studied at Prague, was Dean

PRINTED  
BOOKS:  
ACCESSIONS  
BY PURCHASE



of the Faculty of Arts and Professor, and later Professor and Principal of the University of Heidelberg. He has the distinction of being one of the first of the later theologians to enjoy the wider dissemination of his work which was made possible by the invention of printing. An edition of this same work appeared in [1460?] from the press of the anonymous "printer of the Catholicon" at Mainz. Dibdin, when he obtained it for Lord Spencer from the monastery at Eichstätt, described it as "a florin" book. Our present, much less valuable edition, has cost us a great many florins.

The other is a copy of Saint Bonaventura *Perlustratio in iv libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi cum textu eiusdem*, printed not later than the 2nd of May 1493 by Kilian Fischer at Freiburg im Breisgau. Fischer, or Kilianus Piscator as he called himself, was the first printer to be at work in Freiburg im Breisgau. The present work is a close reprint of the 1491 edition of Anton Koberger printed at Nuremberg, of which we have Vols. 3 and 4. The volume containing the *Tabula* and Books I-II is in a fine stamped binding, much damaged but now skilfully repaired, and has a duplicate stamp of the Royal Library, Stuttgart, which yielded several precious volumes to Lord Spencer. The other two volumes are in contemporary stamped pigskin bindings and have ownership inscriptions of the Cistercian Abbey of Zweifalten, near Stuttgart. It is of typographical importance for the Rylands collection since it represents the first use of one of Fischer's types not hitherto to be found in the Library.

Of the more recent gifts to the Library the most considerable is the bequest of the late Edward Hyde Greg, which consists entirely of editions of the works of Thomas Bewick.

PRINTED  
BOOKS:  
ACCESSIONS  
BY GIFT

Of the "General history of Quadrupeds" the Library already possessed the first edition of 1790 and the fourth edition of 1800. To these are now added the fifth, published in 1807, and the eighth, published in 1824. The fifth edition shows little change from the fourth, which was the first to bear what Bewick called "scientific names" of the animals, while the eighth edition is notable for its clean press work and excellent impressions of the cuts.

The most popular of Bewick's works was his history of British birds. Volume 1, covering land birds, was first issued in 1797 but the second volume, dealing with water birds, was not issued until 1804. In the bequest there are two copies of the first edition of 1797, the thick royal octavo with its companion water bird volume of 1804, and the thin royal octavo issue in which the original boards have been preserved. Also present are the eighth edition of the land birds and the sixth of the water birds, which appeared in 1826, and the first appearance of the supplement to the *History of British Birds* in 1821.

The following is a list of recent Library Publications, consisting of reprints of articles which appeared in the latest issue of the BULLETIN (March 1960):

RECENT  
LIBRARY  
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TIONS

"The Parables as Allegory." By Matthew Black, Principal of St. Mary's College and Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of St. Andrews. 8vo, pp. 15. Price four shillings net.

"Constantine, Rome and the Rabbis." By the Rev. Arnold Ehrhardt, Bishop Fraser Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 25. Price five shillings net.

"The Federalist Movement in Caen During the French Revolution." By A. Goodwin, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 32. Price six shillings net.

"The Wyclifite *Pater Noster* and *Ten Commandments*, with Special Reference to English MSS. 85 and 90 in The John Rylands Library." By A. L. Kellogg, Associate Professor of English at Rutgers University, New Jersey, and Ernest W. Talbert, Professor of English at the University of North Carolina. 8vo, pp. 33. Price six shillings net.

"Francis Thompson: 1859-1907." By F. N. Lees, Senior Lecturer in English Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 17. Price four shillings net.

"Some Religious Attitudes Reflected in the Hebrew Novels of the Period of Enlightenment." By David Patterson, Cowley



Lecturer in Post-Biblical Hebrew in the University of Oxford. 8vo, pp. 17. Price four shillings net.

"The Rôle of the Early Hebrew Prophet." By Edward Robertson, Librarian of the John Rylands Library; Emeritus Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 20. Price four shillings net.

"The Poet Martial." By W. H. Semple, Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 21. Price five shillings net.

"Ruskin's Friendship with Mrs. Fanny Talbot." By Margaret E. Spence, Lecturer in Education in the University of Liverpool. 8vo, pp. 28. Price five shillings net.

"A Rumanian Manuscript Miscellany in the John Rylands Library." By E. D. Tappe, Lecturer in Rumanian in the University of London. 8vo, pp. 12. Price three shillings net.

"Staging and Scenery in the Ancient Greek Theatre." By T. B. L. Webster, Professor of Greek, University College, London. 8vo, pp. 17. Price four shillings net.

The following is a list of the public lectures (the fifty-ninth series) which have been arranged for delivery in the Lecture Hall of the Library during the current session 1960-61, at 3 p.m. in the afternoon:

THE FIFTY-  
NINTH  
SERIES OF  
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PUBLIC  
LECTURES

19 October 1960. "The Banquet of Sense in Renaissance Painting and Poetry" (with lantern slides). By J. F. Kermodé, John Edward Taylor Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

9 November 1960. "The Book of Zechariah in the Passion Narrative." By F. F. Bruce, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

7 December 1960. "The Qumran Sect and Christian Origins." By H. H. Rowley, Emeritus Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

18 January 1961. "The Poet Persius, Literary and Social Critic." By W. H. Semple, Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

15 February 1961. "*Gothia and Romania*." By J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

15 March 1961. "Renaissance Maps of the World and their Presuppositions" (with lantern slides). By Walter Oakeshott, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.

3 May 1961. "The Elizabethans and America." By A. L. Rowse, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

Since the last issue of the BULLETIN the following donors have made valuable gifts of books to the Library, and to them the Governors offer grateful thanks.

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Damascus : Académie Arabe ; Darmstadt : Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung [5] ; Dublin : National Library of Ireland ; Durham University Library [2].

Eerdmans, William B., Publishing Company, Grand Rapids.

Florence : Kunsthistorisches Institut ; Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique ; French Embassy, London ; Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.

Gabalda, J., et Compagnie ; Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte ; Ghent University Library ; Giessen University Library [10] ; Glasgow University Library ; Gothenburg University Library.

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Library; London: Victoria and Albert Museum; Lund University Library.

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THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII :  
A STUDY BASED UPON THE ACCOUNT BOOKS  
OF JOHN HERON, TREASURER OF THE CHAMBER

By SYDNEY ANGLO, B.A., PH.D.

RESEARCH FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF READING

THE source materials for Henry VII's court festivals are disappointingly meagre. For the entertainments given during the first two decades of Henry VIII's reign there survives a series of detailed *Revels Accounts*, supplemented by the narratives of Edward Hall, which enable the historian to reconstruct the shows without difficulty. But there is nothing comparable for Henry VII and the drab appearance of his reign results partly from this lack of documentary evidence. Apart from the well-known narrative of the marriage celebrations of Prince Arthur and Katharine of Aragon in 1501, there survive few circumstantial descriptions of court entertainments; and I have discovered only one *Revels Account* for the entire reign.<sup>1</sup>

The main source for the entertainments and festivals of Henry VII's reign is an incomplete series of the accounts kept by John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber, now preserved at the Public Record Office and the British Museum. These royal household books record the day-to-day expenses on behalf of the king and afford unique evidence of the entertainments prepared at the king's own costs. Literary historians dealing with the plays and disguisings of the period generally refer, for household payments, to British Museum Additional Manuscript 7099; but this is merely a collection of haphazard extracts transcribed, early in the nineteenth century, by Craven Orde from Heron's accounts between 1491 and 1505. Orde's manuscript is of value, since the original accounts prior to October 1495 and between October

<sup>1</sup> The original narrative of the 1501 festivities is in College of Arms MS. 1st M. 13. This has been printed in Francis Grose and Thomas Astle, *The Antiquarian Repertory* (London, 1808), ii. 296-319. The *Revels Account*, for 1508-9, is discussed below, pp. 24-25.



1502 and April 1505 have not been located ; but it is in no way complete with regard to court entertainments and any conclusions based solely upon the evidence of this manuscript must necessarily be suspect.<sup>1</sup>

Below (pp. 29-38, 39-44) is a transcript from Heron's accounts of all payments relating to entertainments from October 1495 to October 1502 and from April 1505 to April 1509. I have supplemented these, from Orde's manuscript, for the years 1491 to 1495 and again from October 1502 to April 1505.<sup>2</sup> Apart from entertainments, I have included a few items such as the more exotic gifts presented to the king and I have given the entries in which a minstrel or performer in the king's service is mentioned for the first time by name. However, I have not transcribed the regular payment of wages to the groups of musicians (trumpets, sackbuts and so on) in royal service.<sup>3</sup> I

<sup>1</sup> The original accounts are in the Public Record Office : Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts (E. 101/414/6 ; E. 101/414/16 ; E. 101/415/3) and Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Miscellaneous Books (E. 36/214). The original book for April to October 1505 is at the British Museum (Add. MS. 21480). As long ago as 1917 A. P. Newton, "The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors", *English Historical Review*, xxxii. 348-72, pointed out the necessity of going to the original manuscripts and not to the extracts. W. C. Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547* (Louisiana State University Press, 1952), pp. 463-6, has a discussion of Heron's accounts. Nevertheless, the latest book to deal with the court entertainments of this period, Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300-1576* (London, 1959), still refers to Add. MS. 7099 and, worse still, to S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica* (London, 1833), which contains random extracts from Orde's manuscript of random extracts.

<sup>2</sup> All the payments in Heron's original accounts are given in roman numerals. The extracts in Add. MS. 7099 have the payments in arabic figures which I have turned back into roman for the sake of uniformity.

<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of the earliest surviving original volume of Heron's accounts (E. 101/414/6) there are three principal groups of musicians in Royal service. For example, under the date 1-4 December 1495 there are recorded the following payments :

Item to ix trumpettes for their wages.....	xviii <sup>11</sup>
Item to iiij shakbusshes for their wages.....	vij <sup>11</sup>
Item to iij stringmynstrelx.....	c <sup>8</sup>

These three groups remain substantially the same throughout this volume and the two that follow, although the wages paid to the sackbuts is sometimes £6. However, in the last volume (E. 36/214) the string minstrels have disappeared as a group while the other payments are less predictable. Frequently the number of trumpets is given as seven or eight, while the sackbuts have dwindled to two. On the other hand there are monthly payments of wages to single, named,

have appended <sup>1</sup> a list of the companies of players and minstrels who performed at court, with the dates of their appearances.

The greater number of references in these account books, apart from the customary celebrations at Christmas, are to the more informal pastimes in which Henry VII indulged to dispel ennui. The sage monarch, an astute political tactician, played chess and lost quite often. He played cards and dice, and lost at those. He spent many hours at the butts with his cross-bow and enjoyed equally indifferent success. In 1494 Henry apparently became interested in tennis and in June there is a large payment of £4 to a "Spaynyard, the tenes pleyer" who was, perhaps, employed as a coach. A couple of months later, despite the Spaniard's services, Henry had to spend 27s. 8d. to cover his losses and the cost of balls. March of the following year was likewise a bad month for the king who had to pay out for his losses at tennis, the butts, and at the "paune pley". Nevertheless, undeterred by such setbacks, Henry continued his gambling and received playing money up to the very month of his death. Sometimes, as in October 1497 when Heron had to record a payment of £9 for "losse at cardes at Tawnton", the king's gambling was heavy, but on other occasions the stakes were small; and a pleasant light is cast upon the private pursuits and character of this enigmatic monarch by the discovery of a fact such as his loss of 6s. 8d. at cards to the Duke of York, his seven year old son.<sup>2</sup>

musicians such as the "blacke trumpet" and "Alexander Shakbusshe" so that the exact number of musicians in royal employ is hard to deduce. But the sort of musician who was receiving regular payments of rewards from the king can be seen from the entries at the close of the reign. Under 1 January 1509 there are the following payments.

Item to the trumpettes in rewarde.....	c <sup>8</sup>
Item to the shakebussches in rewarde.....	j <sup>8</sup>
Item to the still mynstrelles in rewarde.....	iiij <sup>11</sup>
Item to the Quenes mynstrelles.....	xl <sup>8</sup>
Item to my Lorde Princes trumpettes.....	xx <sup>8</sup>

The very last payments recorded for the reign of Henry VII are of the wages for April 1509 and they include the following items:

Item for the wages of the ix trumpettes.....	xviiij <sup>11</sup>
Item for the ij shakbussches moneth wages.....	iiij <sup>11</sup>
Item to Alexander Shakbusshe wages.....	xxx <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>2</sup> Under 23 May 1498 (*infra*, p. 33).

The entertainers, paid to amuse the king and his court, were of divers sorts. Henry seems to have been particularly fond of music for there are frequent payments to organists, pipers, droners and minstrels of every type—some in royal service, some from the households of great nobles, some from France, and others merely referred to as “straunge”—who employed their skills to delight the king and who received, in their turn, generous payments, all of which were faithfully recorded by John Heron. Tumblers, too, and joculars were paid to perform at court and joined dancers, rope-dancers, stilt-walkers and, on one occasion, a puppet master,<sup>1</sup> in the endless procession of hired entertainers. Even when the monarch was moving about the countryside the places that he visited had their own “waits” to greet him and put him in good humour. Many of the items have particular interest: children were once rewarded for “singing in the gardyn”; a “young damoyzell that daunceth” received the vast and highly suspicious sum of £30 in 1493; a Spaniard tumbled for 10s. in November 1494; while 3s. 4d. was paid in the following year to “one that leped at Chester”. Strange and exotic gifts to the king are often mentioned and these continued towards the end of the reign when, in 1505, popinjays and wild cats were brought as presents from Newfoundland, and, in 1507, the Lord Grey of Wilton presented Henry with a “dragon”. Music continued to be played to the king at all times, as in March 1508 when there is a payment to “John Redes marynors that rowed vpe and down syngyng afore the Kinges manor at Grenewyche”.

The most frequently mentioned entertainers in Heron's accounts are the fools. Fools abound from 1 January 1492, when “my Lorde Privy Seall fole” was rewarded with 10s., to 4 December 1508 when John “late the King of Castelles fole” received 40s. The condition of these unfortunates is not made clear in the account books, but the fact that several of them had keepers suggests that some at least were mental and physical defectives whose involuntary follies made good sport for their noble masters—a favourite jest being to dress the fool as a horse with shoes, saddles and bridles provided for by the royal Privy

<sup>1</sup> The puppets appear under 6 June 1499 when £4 were paid to the “pleyers with mamettes” (*infra*, p. 35).



Purse. There was apparently a subtle distinction between the fools proper and those who, like the Spaniard in June 1492, merely "pleyed the fole". But the borderline was obscure and the jest could prove dangerous as poor Watt the luter may have discovered. On 4 October 1504 he "pleyed the fole". But on 22 November he is referred to as "Watt the fole"—an unfortunate promotion. The origin of the fools who received payment from the king was even more varied than that of the minstrels. There were French, Spanish and Scottish fools. There was Dick the fool and Peche the fool. There was a fool at Winchester, a "lorde Cardynalls Fole", "Coltes fole", Thomas Blakall the king's fool, a fool at "Master Knyvettes", the Duke of York's fool, Martin another of the king's fools, John the King of Castile's fool, and John the French fool. But the shining star in this galaxy of idiots was the jester who appears in the fragmentary accounts for 1492 and 1493 under the name of the "folyshe Duke of Lancaster". This fool may have been a legacy of the Yorkist kings and, if this were so, it says much for Henry VII that he could take in good humour so spiteful a joke against his exalted House.

Source materials relating to the tournaments of this reign are as poor as for the other forms of court entertainment and, to judge from Heron's accounts, the sport was not especially popular with Henry VII who jousted little himself and was not prone to finance others to do so. Naturally, the coronations of the king and his queen were each celebrated with a tournament as were the other key events of the reign; the creation of Prince Henry as Duke of York in 1494;<sup>1</sup> the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501;<sup>2</sup> the betrothal of the Princess Margaret to James IV of

<sup>1</sup> There are two payments, each of £66 13s. 4d., relating to these jousts under October 1494. A full narrative of the creation of Henry Duke of York, including details of the tournament, is printed from Brit. Mus. Cottonian MS. Julius B. XII in James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* (London, 1861), i. 388-404.

<sup>2</sup> This tournament was easily the most elaborate of the reign and the most expensive. The payments relating to it, from April 1501, total more than £430. In addition to the herald's narrative printed in the *Antiq. Rep.*, there is a good description of it in A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London* (London, 1938), pp. 313 ff. A later sixteenth-century copy of the original challenge survives at the College of Arms, MS. M. 3, fols. 24<sup>v</sup>-26<sup>r</sup> and

Scotland in January 1502 ; <sup>1</sup> the visit of the Archduke Philip in 1506 ; <sup>2</sup> and the betrothal of Princess Mary to the Archduke

this includes, at fol. 25<sup>v</sup>, a copy of the score cheques for the jousts—possibly the earliest such record extant.

<sup>1</sup> The tournament of January 1502 is described in Leland's *Collectanea* (London, 1774), iv. 262-4.

<sup>2</sup> There are two payments relating to the jousts of 1506, under February and April of that year. Philip had been on his way to Spain when a storm cast him up on the shores of England where he received an unwelcome elaborate welcome. Henry detained the impatient Archduke with banquets, the tournament and a solemn ceremonial in which Philip was invested with the Garter and Henry, Prince of Wales, was invested with the Order of the Golden Fleece. The best guide to the considerable body of narrative material and diplomatic correspondence concerning this visit is in Wilhelm Busch, *England under the Tudors: King Henry VII* (London, 1895), pp. 190-2, pp. 372-4. There are many payments in Heron's accounts relating to this visit, of which the following (from P.R.O., E. 36/214) are among the most interesting :

- Jan. 22nd. Item to a man that conveyed the king of Castell  
Secretary to the king in reward.....v<sup>s</sup>  
Item to Wm. Kingeston goyng with mewles and  
hobeis to the king of Castell for his costes....xx<sup>s</sup>  
Jan. 29th. Item to Antony Clerke of kechyn vpon a prest  
towarde the charge of the King of Castell his  
company .....xiiij<sup>l</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
Feb. 13th. Item to Kebill goldsmyth of London for a coller  
of garters for the King, pois. xxj oz iij quarters,  
and for a coller of garters for the King of  
Castell, pois xxij oz at xl s. the oz.....iiij<sup>xx</sup>vij<sup>l</sup> x<sup>s</sup>  
Item to the Tosandor Harrold at Harmes with  
the King of Castell in Re.....c<sup>s</sup>  
Item to Garter Harrold at Armes and his com-  
pany .....c<sup>s</sup>  
Item to the Dean and Chanons of Windesor for  
the installing of the King of Castell Knight of  
the Garter and for setting vpe of his helmet. .xx<sup>l</sup>  
Feb. 20th. Item to the Sergeaunte of the Chaundry vpon a  
reconyng towards thexpences of the convey-  
aunce of the Quene of Castill to the see side. .cxxxiiij<sup>l</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
Mar. 6th. Item to the Cofferer, by thandes of John Daunce,  
for the costes of the King of Castell and his  
company to the see syde to Falmowth.....ccc<sup>l</sup>  
Mar. 13th. Item to the Cofferer, by thandes of Cervaux  
Buckland, towards thexpences of the King  
of Castill to the see syde.....c<sup>l</sup>

In addition to these items there are many others referring to provisions and expenses for the visitors and several large gifts made to dignitaries in Philip's party.

Charles in December 1508.<sup>1</sup> But it was a European convention to signalize important diplomatic occasions with a tournament and, apart from this, the sport, as a royally-sponsored enterprise, did not flourish. There is a payment in May 1492 to the Clerk of the Works for making the lists at Shene, and in the following month there is a record of the spears and vamplates for the jousts; <sup>2</sup> in July 1505 four ounces of gold were purchased for "rings for the justes at Richemont" which were presumably presented as prizes; and finally 5s. 11d. was spent in May 1507 for repairing a tilt. On the other hand not every tournament held at court is recorded in Heron's accounts, and there were several combats during Henry's reign which were not financed by the royal Privy Purse. The most important of these privately-sponsored tournaments were the feats of arms performed in May 1507 by Charles Brandon, Thomas Knyvet, Giles Chapel and William Hussy. These four issued a challenge to all comers at Greenwich, the combats including jousts, archery, tourneying on foot with sword and spear, wrestling and casting of the bar. The challenge itself was romantic in the Burgundian tradition, the passage of arms arising from a fanciful allegorical situation. The knights challenged on behalf of the Lady May and their cartel begins:

Most highe and excellent Princesse, vnder your patient supportacion I, which am called the Ladye Maie in all monethes of the yeare to lustye hearts most pleasant, certifie your Highnes howe that vnder signe and seale fully authorized by the hand of my Lady and soueraigne Dame Sommer I haue free licence during the tyme of my short raigne to passe my tyme and a fortnight of my sister June as shalbe to my comfort and most solace.<sup>3</sup>

Probably these disports were organized by the courtiers as part

<sup>1</sup> *The Solempnities & triumphes doon & made at the Spouselles and Mariage of the Kynges doughter the Lady Marye to the Prynce of Castile Archduke of Austrige*, printed by Pynson in English and Latin (London, 1508). Both editions ed. Gairdner in the ninth volume of the *Camden Miscellany*. The brief account of the tournament is at pp. 25-7 of Gairdner's edition.

<sup>2</sup> These jousts at Shene took place in May 1492 and witnessed one of the few serious accidents in Tudor tournaments when Sir James Parker was slain by Hugh Vaughan. See *The Great Chronicle*, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. Harleian MS. 69, fols. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>, printed in F. H. Cripps-Day, *History of the Tournament in England and France* (London, 1918), Appendix VI, pp. xlv-xlvii.



of the general spring and summer merrymaking celebrated throughout Henry VII's reign, and at least during the early years of his son's reign, by gathering of the May, prancing around a maypole, and kindling a midsummer bonfire.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, despite this private enterprise, the tournaments of 1494 and 1501 seem to have been the outstanding essays in this chivalric genre during the reign of the first Tudor. The full flowering of such military spectacles was to come with the young and bellicose Henry VIII, not under the politic governance of his father.

Concerning the more formal and regular court entertainments, the material in my transcripts is largely self-explanatory; but a few comments must be made to correct, in points of detail, the errors in Wallace's account of the entertainments of this period which, despite its well-known deficiencies, remains the only coherent attempt to deal with the dramatic performances at court during Henry VII's reign.<sup>2</sup> In the first place, outside companies, that is groups of players or minstrels not directly in the service of the king, who performed at court were rather more numerous than Wallace estimated; and it is not true to say that they appeared "hardly oftener than once for any company" during Henry VII's reign.<sup>3</sup> Several of the companies were frequent visitors at court; in particular "my Lorde of Essex players" appeared at Christmas or in the New Year in 1494, 1496, 1497/8, 1498/9 and 1503 and perhaps in other years for which the records are incomplete. Similarly, the appearance of the "Princes players" in January 1506 was not unique at court. A group of the Prince's minstrels had first performed in September 1496, while the Prince's players themselves are first mentioned in January and February 1499 and again in 1501. The king's players too were much more regular in their performances at court than has

<sup>1</sup> Payments for the making of the king's bonfire, invariably for 10s., occur in the accounts for the years 1494-8, 1502, and 1504-8. Maying or the maypole is mentioned in 1492, 1499 and 1506.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (Berlin, 1912). J. P. Collier, *The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare* (London, 1879), i. 50-4, prints extracts from the Chamber Accounts relating to players. He apparently had access to the original manuscripts as well as to Add. MS. 7099 but is as careless, wilful and inaccurate as usual.

<sup>3</sup> Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 27.

hitherto been supposed. They are mentioned in 1494, twice in 1496, 1497 and 1498, once in 1500, twice in 1501 and 1502, and once in 1507 and 1509. It is also probable that they appeared in years for which the evidence is incomplete as, for example, in the summer of 1503 when Princess Margaret went on progress to Scotland for her marriage with James IV. A company of actors led by John English, one of the king's players, accompanied the princess and performed at the various banquets given in her honour.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the Chapel Royal, both the Gentlemen and the Children are mentioned in the accounts much earlier and more often than the extracts in the British Museum indicate. Every January, in those years for which the original accounts survive, and in 1503, the Gentlemen of the Chapel received a reward which was usually £13 6s. 8d., although in 1501 they received only £10. In 1496 the Children of the Chapel received a reward on the same day, 31 December, as did William Cornish, the most significant figure in Early Tudor revels; this suggests that they may have been involved in the court festivities for Christmas. Similarly, the conjunction on 17 March 1500 of Cornish and the Gentlemen of the Chapel also suggests some sort of revelry though, it must be remembered, Cornish was a composer and these payments might relate to the performance of his music.

Finally, Wallace made the point that there was a distinct tendency towards the end of the reign to drop outside performers and to concentrate all entertainments within the court itself. This is true enough and is suggestive of the extreme centralization of the revels that was to come in Henry VIII's time. However, it must be noted that there was a distinct tendency for all entertainments to decline towards the end of Henry VII's reign—not merely those performed by outside companies. A particularly striking feature is the increasing paucity of fools. The king's appetite for amusement had perhaps become jaded by age, personal troubles and ceaseless political responsibilities.

<sup>1</sup> Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 299; "After Soupper, the Kynge and the Qwene being togeder in hyr grett Chamber, John English and hys Companyons playd, and then ichon went his way." This reference helps to identify the "Johannes and his Companye" mentioned at pp. 267, 289 and 296.

The formal court entertainments were mainly grouped around Christmas, New Year and Twelfth Night. No Chamber Accounts, or even selections from them, prior to 1491 have so far been located but we know from the writs issued under the Privy Seal that as early as 1486 a disguising was prepared for Twelfth Night.<sup>1</sup> There is, moreover, a narrative of the Christmas celebrations for 1487/8, which mentions a "goodly disgysyng" on the evening of New Year's Day and continues that "also this Christmass ther wer many and dyvers playes". The entertainments continued at the Twelfth Night banquet when minstrels played and the Gentlemen of the Chapel sang a carol.<sup>2</sup> That disguisings and plays were common features at such festivals is also suggested by a narrative of Christmas 1489. The herald who wrote the account says that there was sickness abroad and :

This Christmass I saw no Disgysyngs, and but right few Pleys : but ther was an Abbot of Misrule that made much Sport, and did right well his Office.<sup>3</sup>

The Abbot or, as he was often called, the Lord of Misrule did, for a short time during the reign of Edward VI, assume a dominant position in the production of masques and interludes ; but at this early period, and throughout the reign of Henry VIII, he was but one of several regular revellers in the Christmas season and his special nincompoopery probably had little to do with the plays and disguisings produced on such festive occasions. In 1491/2 a certain Ringley received 100s. as Lord of Misrule and gained a similar reward in the following year as "Abbot of Misreule". In January 1496 he was paid 40s. and in December 1499 20s. In January 1501 there is a payment of a 100s. to "Ryngesley for hym and his company" ; and in 1502 he received £6 13s. 4d. Thereafter this last sum was the regular payment for the Lord of Misrule to the end of the reign.<sup>4</sup> The year 1502 is the last for which Ringley is named, subsequent references

<sup>1</sup> William Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII* (London, 1873, 1877), i. 337, ii. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 235-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 255-6.

<sup>4</sup> The Lord of Misrule is not mentioned in 1504, for which year the original accounts do not survive.



being anonymous until 1508/9 when William Wynnesbury appears as Abbot of Misrule.

More important than the Abbot's madcap pranks were the disguisings and plays presented at court for the Christmas revelry. There were, as we have seen, frequent performances by outside companies and by the king's own players; but these gained quite small rewards. The main royal expense was on disguisings or "revels". In 1486 Richard Pudsey, serjeant of the king's cellar, received £40 for the preparation of a disguising. In November 1493 and February 1494 Walter Alwyn received sums totalling £29 for the Christmas revels and disguising. In June 1494 there is a payment to "Peche for the disguising"—the only such mid-year expense recorded in these account books. Jacques Hault, who supervised the organization of the wedding entertainments in 1501, received over £33 for the disguisings of Christmas 1494/5 and nearly £27 for those of the following year.<sup>1</sup> The disguisings for the next four years were all prepared under Hault's supervision; <sup>2</sup> but in 1501, though there were several performances by the Gentlemen of the Chapel, the king's players and the prince's players, there were no Twelfth Night disguisings. Perhaps the money was being saved for the immense display to celebrate Prince Arthur's marriage later in the year. Similarly in the following year there were players in plenty but no specific mention of a disguising although we know that, on 25 January 1502, there was such an entertainment as part of the festivities for the marriage treaty with Scotland. In 1502/3 a disguising was prepared by a Lewes Adam. But after this no further disguisings are mentioned in the accounts until Christmas 1507/8 when Master Wentworth made a "disguysing for a moryce daunce". However, there is extant a *Revels Account* which shows that Wentworth was also concerned with preparing disguisings and pageants for the Flemish ambassadors to England in 1508/9.<sup>3</sup> The fact that these disguisings are not mentioned in

<sup>1</sup> Besides this payment to Hault a further £40 was paid in February 1496 to various noble lords for the disguising (infra p. 30).

<sup>2</sup> The payments to Hault are as follows: 1496/7, £18 17s. 8d.; 1497/8, £28 0s. 10d.; 1498/9, £52 18s. 6d.; 1499/1500, £8 10s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, Lord Chamberlain's Department, Accounts (L.C. 9/50, fols. 143<sup>r</sup>-147<sup>v</sup>).

Heron's account books is at least suggestive of greater activity in this sphere of entertainment than appears from the surviving records.

The main source for our knowledge of disguisings at Henry VII's court is the eye-witness description, written by a herald, of the marriage festivities in November 1501. This should be supplemented by the account given in the *Great Chronicle of London* of the revels for Twelfth Night 1494.<sup>1</sup> The show began with a "goodly interlude" which was interrupted by the sudden appearance of William Cornish, "apparaylid aftyre the fygure of Seynt George", followed by a girl dressed as a princess who led a fire-breathing dragon through the hall. Cornish declaimed verses before the king, led the Chapel in an anthem "off Seynt George", and then made his exit with the dragon. The entertainment concluded with an elaborate series of dances—so complex as to suggest a sort of incipient ballet. Apart from its references to the dance this description is also noteworthy in that it does not mention the "pageant of St. George with a castle" included in a later account of the same festivities.<sup>2</sup> Nor is there any mention of *pageants* in court entertainments, in Heron's accounts, prior to September 1501 when they appear in connection with Prince Arthur's marriage celebrations. The disguisings of 1494 are simply referred to by Heron as "revells".<sup>3</sup>

Heron's accounts also throw a little light upon the London celebrations of January 1502 for the proxy marriage of Princess Margaret and James IV King of Scotland. This event was signalized by a tournament on 24 January and, on the following evening, by a banquet at which the prizes were distributed to the successful knights.

Incontinent after the Pryses were given, there was in the Hall a goodly Pageant, curiously wrought with Fenestrallis, having many Lights brenning in the same, in Manner of a Lantron out of wich sorted divers Sortes of Morisks. Also

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed the questions of the authorship and forms of the marriage disguisings and of the revels of 1494 in an article, "William Cornish in a Play, Pageants, Prison, and Politics", *Review of English Studies*, November, 1959.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6113, fol. 169<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In November 1493 Walter Alwyn received £13 6s. 8d. for the "revells"; and he received a further £14 13s. 4d. in February 1494 "in full payment for the disguising made at Christenmes".

very goodly Disguising of Six Gentlemen and Six Gentlewomen, which danced divers Dances.<sup>1</sup>

The Chamber Accounts show several large payments, in January and February, to John Atkinson and John English both of whom had been employed on the disguisings at Prince Arthur's marriage. These payments suggest that Atkinson and English may have devised the pageant and disguisings of January 1502 which are very similar to a pageant of the lantern presented on 21 November 1501.<sup>2</sup> Finally, there is a payment on 4 February 1502 to "one Lewes for a mores daunce". Presumably this "Lewes" is the Lewes Adam who prepared a disguising early in 1503, and his morris dance may have been one of those given as part of the festivities in January 1502.

There is one other, hitherto unnoticed, source relating to this question of disguisings and pageants in the reign of Henry VII. This is the unique *Revels Account* for December 1508 entitled, *This is the boke of the disguisinges ffor the comyng of thambassatours of Flaunderes anno xxiiij<sup>o</sup> henrici vij.* These disguisings were presented at Richmond for the diversion of the ambassadors who came to England for the betrothal of the Archduke Charles and Princess Mary.<sup>3</sup> The disguisers entered the hall on three pageant cars—a castle, a tree, and a mount—the decoration of which had been entrusted to Richard Rowhanger, a noted artist of the time.<sup>4</sup> The necessary iron-work was supplied by Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 263.

<sup>2</sup> This earlier pageant was made like a transparent lantern with windows of fine lawn, illumined by a hundred lights so that the lady disguisers within could be clearly recognized. It is, however, possible that these payments to Atkinson and English might also represent the settlement of debts still owing from the marriage festival.

<sup>3</sup> P.R.O., L.C. 9/50, fols. 143<sup>r</sup>-147<sup>v</sup>. That the performance was given at Richmond appears from several payments, as fol. 146<sup>v</sup> relating to the hire of boats and carts for carriage of disguising materials from London to Richmond and, especially, from the payment of 1s. for "the sending of a man and a horse from Richemont to London in hast for a cott of disguising and for his horshire".

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. fol. 145<sup>r</sup>. "Richard Rowanger for dyuers stuff appertaynyng for the payntyng of the pagiauntes." Rowhanger, like the other artists concerned with court revels, did much heraldic work and his name is mentioned in connection with heraldic paintings and carvings at the funerals of Prince Arthur, Elizabeth of York, Henry VII, Prince Henry in 1511, and at the coronation of Henry VIII. He was still active late in life and his name occurs amongst the army of artists employed on the banquet houses at Greenwich in 1527. See Erna Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (London, 1954), pp. 7-9, 183-4.



Ducymyn and others who, at a cost of 4d., provided for "fylyng of irens to stryke out leves for hawthorns" and purchased three mallets at a penny each for "smytyng of the flowres and leves". Ducymyn also received 2s. 10d. for "Iren werke apperteynyng to the rose and marigold".<sup>1</sup> Harry Wentworth was in charge of the "besynesse of the disguising and moreske" and the provision of costumes;<sup>2</sup> and there is a payment under 25 December, in Heron's accounts, to "Master Kyte Cornysse and other of the Chapell that played affore the King at Richemounte", that must refer to some dramatic action performed on the same occasion. The castle was a common heraldic emblem and pageant device used to represent Castile, the kingdom of the young bridegroom. This in turn suggests that the tree, a hawthorn, was meant to represent England. The whole show was probably intended to celebrate the union of the two kingdoms by marriage, thus repeating the theme of the two rock pageant cars employed to symbolize the Anglo-Spanish marriage of 1501<sup>3</sup> and presaging the similar political pageants and disguisings of Henry VIII's reign.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., L.C. 9/50, fol. 145<sup>r</sup>-146<sup>r</sup>. This Ducymyn is probably the same as the "Duchemyn Smith" who, on 10 April 1506, received £20 for "certain copper werke to be made for the kinges tumbre" (E. 36/214), and who received other payments relating to copper-work at Westminster and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> L.C. 9/50, fol. 146<sup>v</sup>-147<sup>r</sup>. The total costs for this entertainment were £60 17s. 11d. (fol. 147b). The pageants themselves must have been quite impressive judging from the time spent in their construction. At fol. 147<sup>r</sup> there is a payment of 16s. for the "hire of a howse at the crane in the vintere for ij pagiauntes there made be the space of xvj wekes at xij<sup>d</sup> the weke" and another payment of 3s. 4d. to the "keper of the Bishoop of Harfordes place for a Rewarde for his atendauns to open and shut the gates and for making clene of serten howses occupied a bought a pagiaunt cauled the mount by the space of xij weekys".

<sup>3</sup> On Thursday, 25 November 1501 the lords and ladies entered the banquet hall separately on pageant cars like mounts linked together with a golden chain. One mount was fertile with greenery, trees, herbs, flowers and fruits; the other was scorched and burnt by the sun and studded with minerals, gold, silver, lead, copper and sulphur, crystal, coral and amber. Twelve disguised lords were sitting about the green mount playing musical instruments as were the twelve ladies seated on the red rock. This scorched mount was surmounted by a maiden dressed in the manner of the princess of Spain to make clear that the two rocks represented the union of England and Spain.

<sup>4</sup> For example, on 7 October 1518, as part of the celebrations for the Treaty of Universal Peace there was presented at Greenwich a political disguising the

It is curious that Heron's accounts offer just the one payment relevant to the entertainments produced for the Flemish ambassadors, and again this prompts the question as to whether there might have been similar festivities for which no record survives. Certainly these disguisings, with their three pageants, artificial gardens, special costumes, moresques and, possibly, dramatic action, indicate that the form which first appeared at the Tudor court in 1501 had taken firm hold upon the imagination of those responsible for the preparation of royal entertainments. Thus, the early revels of Henry VIII should be regarded rather as a continuation of his father's court festivals than as the sudden efflorescence suggested by the disparity in source materials between the two reigns. The main differences were rather of quantity than of form or quality—coupled with the fact that Henry VII, unlike his son, was apparently not an enthusiastic jousting or participator in his own revels. Whereas Henry VIII, at the beginning of his reign, made chivalric display the centre of his activities and attempted to dazzle Europe by ostentation, Henry VII was content merely to demonstrate that his court could produce a good show when occasion demanded it, to signalize important political events or at the recognized festive seasons of the year. These court revels are of fundamental importance in the study of early English drama and, in a period notoriously deficient in documentary evidence, the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber furnish invaluable information relating to the frequency and scope of such entertainments and to the personalities involved in their production.

pageant for which was built like a rock planted with five trees. The rock represented peace and the five trees symbolized the Pope, Emperor, King of France, King of England, and King of Spain. Seated below was a girl dressed as a princess holding, on her lap, a dolphin. This represented the proposed marriage between the Princess Mary and the Dauphin of France (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, Busta 85 B. xxxiii, 10, fols. 104<sup>r</sup>-107<sup>r</sup>. This has been calendared in the *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, ii, no. 1088. Cf. Edward Hall, *Chronicles*, ed. of 1809, p. 595). The setting for the anti-Imperial play of 10 November 1527 consisted of an arbor with a fountain. Behind the fountain was a huge olive tree alluding to the new Universal Peace and on either side of this flourished a hawthorn and mulberry decorated with the insignias of the two chivalric orders of St. George and St. Michael—signifying the makers of the peace, England and France (P.R.O., *Revels Accounts*, E. 36/227, fol. 53<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>v</sup>. Cf. Hall, p. 735).

# THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 27

## PAYMENTS RELATING TO COURT ENTERTAINMENTS

### DECEMBER 1491—APRIL 1509

1491

Dec. 24th.<sup>1</sup> Item to Ringley, Lorde of Mysrewle upon a prest.....c<sup>s</sup>

1492

Jan. 1st. Item to my Lorde of Oxon. pleyers in rewarde.....xx<sup>s</sup>  
 Item to my Lorde Privy Seall fole in rewarde.....x<sup>s</sup>

Jan. 5th. Item to ij Sweches grete tabarers <sup>2</sup>.....xl<sup>s</sup>

Jan. 8th. Item to the King to pley at cardes.....c<sup>s</sup>

Jan. 16th. Item to one that brought the King a lyon in rewarde.....liij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Jan. 24th. Item to Jakes Haute for diverse necessarys bought for  
 the King as tables, chesse, glasses and other.....lvj<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>

Jan. 29th. Item to my Lady York mynstrels in rewarde.....xx<sup>s</sup>

Feb. 12th. Item to Pechie the fole in rewarde.....vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Mar. 4th. Item to the childe that pleyeth on the records.....xx<sup>s</sup>  
 Item to my Lord of Suffolks mynystrelles in rewarde...xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Apr. 6th. Item to Guillim for flotes with a case.....lxx<sup>s</sup>

Apr. 29th. Item to one that pleyed on the lute in rewarde.....vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

May 7th. At Shene. To the clerk of the werkes for making of the  
 lystes at Shene.....xxiiij<sup>li</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup>

May 8th. Item for making a case for the Kings suerde and a case  
 for James Hides Harp.....xx<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Jun. 4th. Item to Sir Edward Borough which the King loste at  
 buttes with his crossbow.....xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Jun. 10th. Item to a Spaynyarde that pleyed the fole.....xl<sup>s</sup>

Jun. 11th. Item to one that pleyed on the drone.....vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Jun. 17th. Item to Master Guyfford for speres, sperehedes and  
 vamplats bought for the justes.....ix<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup>

Jun. 18th. Item to the folyshe Duke of Lancaster.....iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Jun. 30th. Item to the King which he lost at cardes.....iiij<sup>li</sup>

Jul. 8th. Item to the maydens of Lambeth for a May.....x<sup>s</sup>

Jul. 31st. Item to the foolyshe Duc of Lancaster.....vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item to the shamews <sup>3</sup> of Madeston in rewarde.....vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item for an horse and sadell, bridell and spoures bought  
 for Dego, the Spanish fole.....xviij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>

Aug. 1st. Item to the children for singing in the gardyn.....iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Sep. 24th. Item to the mynstrels of Sandwich in rewarde.....x<sup>s</sup>

Oct. 2nd. Item to the mynstrels that pleyed in the Swan [the boat  
 taking the King to Calais].....xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item to Dego, the Spanish fole, in rewarde.....vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Oct. 18th. Item to the waytes of Canterbury.....x<sup>s</sup>  
 Item to the waytes of Dover.....vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Oct. 24th. Item to Ringeley, Abbot of Misreule.....c<sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B.M. Add. MS. 7099.

<sup>2</sup> Two Swiss performers on the large drum.

<sup>3</sup> Performers on the shawm, a wind instrument.



1493

Jan. 6th.	Item to Newark for making of a song.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 7th.	Item to my Lorde of Northumbande pleyers in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 2nd.	Item to Master Bray for rewardes to them that brought cokkes at Shrovetide at Westminster.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 10th.	Item for a pair of tables and dise bought.....	xvj <sup>d</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Privy Seall fole for a rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Mar. 11th.	Item to Dego the fole in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 22nd.	Item to the fole, the Duk of Lancaster.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 30th.	Item to the waytes of Coventre in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the folyshe Duke of Lancastre in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
May 13th.	Item to the waytes of Northampton in rewarde.....	viij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
May 16th.	Item to Pudesey Piper in the bagepipe.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 23rd.	Item to the making of the bonefuyr on Middelsumer Eve.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Aug. 25th.	Item to the young damoyzell that daunceth.....	xxx <sup>l</sup>
Sep. 24th.	Item to Pachye the fole for a rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to hym that had his bull baytedd in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 3rd.	Item to John Flee for Dikks the fowls rayment.....	xxj <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 12th.	Item to one Cornysse for a prophecy in rewarde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Nov. 16th.	Item to Walter Alwyn for the revells at Estermes [sic].....	xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Nov. 30th.	Item delivered to a merchant for a par of organnes.....	xxx <sup>l</sup>
Dec. 1st.	Item to Basset riding for the organ player of Lichefelde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 7th.	Item to the King of Fraunce fole in rewarde.....	iiij <sup>l</sup>

1494

Jan. 1st.	Item to iiij players of Essex in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the pleyers of Wymbone Mynystre.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 2nd.	Item for pleying of the mourice daunce.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 6th.	Item for clothing mad for Dik the fole.....	xxxv <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Frenche pleyers for a rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the Kings pleyers for a rewarde.....	liij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 15th.	Item to my Lorde of Bedford tumbler in rewarde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 22nd.	Item to the King for his losse at cards.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Feb. 15th.	Item to Walter Alwyn in full payment for the disguysing made at Christenmes.....	xiiij <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 18th.	Item to my Lady Margaret mynystrels.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 2nd.	Item to the Kinges piper for a rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 5th.	At Derteford. Item to the waytes of the town in rewarde.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
May 29th.	Item to one that tumbled before the King.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 1st.	Item to Peche for the disguising in rewarde.....	xxvj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 10th.	Item to one that jocolud before the King.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 13th.	Item to a Spaynyard the tenes pleyer.....	iiij <sup>l</sup>
Jun. 24th.	Item for making of the bonefyre in reward.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 6th.	Item to Hugh Denes for balls at the paune play <sup>1</sup> .....	xij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 26th.	Item to the tenes pleyer for balls.....	ij <sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably skittles, the pin used resembling the pawn chess-piece.

Aug. 14th.	Item to Sir Charles Somerset for the Kinges losse at tenes to Sir Robert Curson with the balles.....xxvij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 20th.	Item to the King for playing at the cards.....lx <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 31st.	Item to the challengers at the joustes.....lxvj <sup>li</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Item to the defenders at the joustes.....lxvj <sup>li</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Nov. 14th.	Item to a Spaynyard that tumbled.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 29th.	Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.....xx <sup>li</sup> Item to my Lorde Prince luter in rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to iij pleyers of Wycombe in rewarde.....xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>

1495

Jan. 1st.	Item to Scot the fole for a rewarde.....vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 4th.	Item to the Frenshe pleyers in rewarde.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Feb. 13th.	Item to hym that pleyeth upon the bagpipe.....x <sup>s</sup> Item Jaks Haute in full payment of his bille for his disguysings.....xiiij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 20th.	Item to the Queen of France ministrcls.....xxx <sup>li</sup> Item to a Walsheman for making a ryme.....x <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 8th.	Item to Hugh Denes for the Kings losse at tenes xiiij <sup>s</sup> , and for a silke girdle vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> .....xx <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Mar. 20th.	Item loste at the buttes to my Lord Marquus.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 29th.	Item for the Kings losse at the paune pley.....viij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 28th.	Item for making the Kings bonefuyr.....x <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 9th.	Item to the tumbler opon the rope in rewarde.....iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 27th.	Item to one that leped at Chester.....vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 2nd.	Item to the women that songe before the King and Quene in rewarde.....vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Oct. 20th. <sup>1</sup>	Item to ij straunge mynystrelles.....vj <sup>li</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Nov. 1st.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell for singing of the Auditte this day <sup>2</sup> .....xx <sup>s</sup>
-6th.	Item to Dic the foles master for his wages.....x <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Item to a woman that singeth with a fidell.....ij <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 27th.	Item to Hampton of Wourcestre for making of balades in rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup> Item deliuered to Jakes Haute in partye of payment for the disguysinges.....x <sup>li</sup>
Dec. 1st-4th.	Item to Dik the foles master for his monethes wages.....x <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 11th.	Item to iij straunge mynystrelx.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 21st.	Item to ij straunge trumpettes in rewarde.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 23rd.	Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.....x <sup>li</sup>
Dec. 28th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to ij pleyes in the hall.....xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Item to Dic the foles master wages.....x <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. E. 101/414/6.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly an introit for All Souls' Day. My friend Bernard Hamilton has suggested that the item might refer to a setting of the 48th Psalm for first Vespers All Souls.

1496

Jan. 1st & 2nd.	Item to the players of Oxon. in rewarde.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the players of Essex in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the players on Saturday at night.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 3rd-8th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the players on Monday in rewarde.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Kinges players in rewarde.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 10th.	Item to Ringeley, Lorde of Mysrule, in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
-15th.	Item to the Scottissh foole in rewarde.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 24th- 29th.	Item to Jakes Haute in full payment for the disguysing at Cristenmes.....	vj <sup>li</sup> xvij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 7th- 9th.	Item to my Lorde Suff., my Lorde Essex, my Lorde Wllm. and other for the disguising.....	xl <sup>li</sup>
Feb. 12th.	Item for new furnishing casting and reparing of the rounde organes.....	vij <sup>li</sup>
Feb. 14th- 19th.	Item to iiij mynstrelx of Royn <sup>e</sup> <sup>1</sup> .....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item deliuered to Hugh Denes for the Kinges losse at two tymes.....	vij <sup>li</sup>
Feb. 26th.	Item to Guillm. one of the shakbusshes <sup>2</sup> that goyth over the see into Flaunders.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 1st.	Item to the Kinges players.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 17th- 22nd.	Item to Hugh Denes for a lute.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
May 10th.	Item to an Italian a poete.....	xx <sup>li</sup>
	Item to an harper of Fraunce.....	vj <sup>li</sup> xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the waites of London.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
May 24th.	Item to the Kinges grace to play at the cardes.....	xxvviij <sup>li</sup>
Jun. 25th.	Item for making of the bonefuyre.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to Peche the fole in rewarde.....	iijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to a Frensheman, pleyer of thorganes.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 2nd.	Item to the new pleyer at tenes.....	iiij <sup>li</sup>
Jul. 20th.	Item to a fole at Winchester in rewarde.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 27th.	Item to Dik the foles master in rewarde.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 5th.	Item to master Cheyneys mynstrelx.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to one that pleyeth on the bagpip.....	iijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 9th.	Item to the waytes of Salesbury.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 17th.	Item to my Lorde Prince luter.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 25th.	Item to the piper in rewarde.....	xx <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the waites of Cecetr. in rewarde.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 4th-7th.	Item to Cornishe of the Kinges Chapell.....	xxvjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 8th- 10th.	Item to the King for his losse at cardes.....	iijs <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 13th.	Item to my Lorde Prince to pley at dice.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 16th.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 20th.	Item to my Lorde Prince ministrclx in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Prince organpleyer.....	x <sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rouen.<sup>2</sup> One of the king's regular performers on the shackbush or sackbut, a trombone.



# THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 31

Oct. 4th-	Item to Fraunces for straunge mynystrelx.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
7th.	Item for my Lorde of York mynystrelx.....	x <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Oct. 13th &	Item to master Peter the poete for a curre <sup>1</sup> of Florence	
14th.	in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup> <sup>6</sup>
Nov. 1st-	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xx <sup>s</sup> <sup>8</sup>
4th.		
Nov. 6th-	Item to the mynystrelx of London.....	xx <sup>s</sup> <sup>8</sup>
8th.		
Nov. 11th.	Item to iiij mynystrelx in rewarde.....	xxxiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Nov. 29th.	Item to ij mynystrelx of London in rewarde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 2nd.	Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.....	x <sup>li</sup>
Dec. 11th-	Item to ij trumpettes that come from Ireland.....	viiij <sup>li</sup>
16th.		
Dec. 31st.	Item to the Children of the Chapell.....	x <sup>ls</sup>
	Item to Cornyshe of the Kinges Chapell.....	x <sup>ls</sup>

1497

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenes mynystrelx in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 2nd-	Item to the players in the hall.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
5th.	Item to the players in the hall in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup> <sup>8</sup>
Jan. 6th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....	xiiij <sup>li</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 7th.	Item to the Kinges players in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup> <sup>8</sup>
Jan. 13th.	Item to a litell mayden that daunceth.....	xij <sup>li</sup>
	Item to a Washe [sic] man that maketh rymes.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Pechye the fole in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 20th.	Item to John Flee for a case for the capp and swerde of Mayntenance.....	xxij <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 27th.	Item to Jakes Haute in full payment for the disguysing viiij <sup>li</sup> xviij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>	
	Item to my Lorde of Arundelles mynystrelx.....	xx <sup>s</sup> <sup>8</sup>
Feb. 17th.	Item to the Quenes fideler in rewarde.....	xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 19th-	Item to the Kinges players in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup> <sup>8</sup>
23rd.		
Mar. 17th.	Item to one of the Kinges players.....	xx <sup>s</sup> <sup>8</sup>
Mar. 23rd.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 3rd-	Item to a Walshe rymer in rewarde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
7th.		
Apr. 16th-	Item to Malvesy for the Kinges losses at the paune play.....	vij <sup>s</sup>
19th.		
Apr. 25th.	Item to the waytes of London in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to Hugh Denes for other straunge mynystre.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
May 1st-5th.	For the Frenshe mynystrelx.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
May 24th.	Item to Arnold my Lorde Prince mynystrell.....	xx <sup>s</sup> <sup>8</sup>
Jun. 6th.	Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 10th.	Item to the mynystrelx of Northampton.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the waytes of Leynestre <sup>2</sup> in rewarde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 21st.	Item for making of the bonefuyre.....	x <sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A courier or messenger.

<sup>2</sup> Leicester.

Jul. 1st-6th.	Item for money lost at cardes by the King.....	c <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 14th.	Item to Hugh Denes and James Braybrok for balles at the tenes play.....	ix <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 21st.	Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.....	xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to tharcheduc mynystrelx in rewarde.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 26th.	Item for balles at the tenes play.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 30th.	Item to Jakes Haute for the tenes play.....	x <sup>li</sup>
	Item for making of the Kinges standing in the parke opon a bille.....	xxxvij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 3rd- 5th.	Item to Fraunces for the Kinges play.....	iiij <sup>li</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 10th- 12th.	Item to my Lorde Prince mynystrelx in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Prince organ pleyer.....	xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Jakes Haute for the tenes play.....	xx <sup>li</sup>
Sep. 20th.	Item to my Lorde Cardynalles fole.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 26th.	Item to Fraunces Mareyn for the Kinges losse at cardes at Wodestok.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Prince trumpett.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 3rd. <sup>1</sup>	Item for the Kinges losse at cardes at Tawnton.....	ix <sup>li</sup>
	This day cam Perkyn Werbeck.	
Oct. 10th.	Item to the mynystrelx of Excester.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 22nd- 27th.	Item to Hugh Denes for the Kinges play at dice opon Friday last passed.....	vij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>
	Item to James Braybrok for the Kinges losse at dice.....	xxx <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 14th.	Item for the Kinges losse at dice.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 21st.	Item to a straunge mynystrell.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 3rd- 5th.	Item to my Lady the Kinges moder poete.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.....	xiiij <sup>li</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx for a quarter wages endid at.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 24th- 29th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to the pleyers of London.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>

## 1498

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenes mynystrelx in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 6th.	Item to the gentilmen of the Kinges chapell in rewarde	xiiij <sup>li</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 12th.	Item to my Lorde of Oxon. pleyers.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the pleyers of Wycombe.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item for the Kinges losse at tenes.....	xxiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. E. 101/414/16.

# THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 33

Jan. 26th.	Item for the Kinges losse at tenes.....	xij <sup>s</sup>
	Item for losse of balles ther.....	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Feb. 1st.	Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> ob.
Feb. 4th- 9th.	Item to my Lorde Prince poete in rewarde.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the waites of London and Kingeston.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Prince trumpettes.....	xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 17th.	Item to Frenshe ministrelles for their quarter wages.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Streame of the Kinges Chapell.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 2nd. <sup>1</sup>	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 4th- 9th.	Item to one of the Frenshe mynystre. wages.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 10th- 15th.	Item to one that tumblet at Eltham.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Prince mynystrelx.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 9th- 12th.	Item to Arnold, pleyer at recorders.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 13th.	Item for the Frenche mynstrelles wages.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 18th.	Item to one that bloweth in a horne.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 26th- 28th.	Item to Garter for lx scutcheons of the armis of Fraunce.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to one that bloweth in a horne.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item for the costes of a fole.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 29th- May 4th.	Item to the mynstrelles at Canterbury.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the clerkes for singing of Te deum.....	xx <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Frenche mynstrelles in rewarde.....	xij <sup>s</sup>
May 4th.	Item to one that wrete a cople of a rolle of diuerse kinges.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to a straunge tabarer in rewarde.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to a straunge tumbler in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
May 15th.	Item to hym that pleyeth on the horne.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item for the rayment and costes of a fole.....	xx <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
May 23rd.	Item the Kinges losse to my Lorde of York.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item a rewarde yeuen to Coltes fole.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to my Lorde of York mynystrelles.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to his luter in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
May 25th.	Item for a lute to my Lorde Henry.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 5th.	Item for the costes of the Kinges fole at Hertford.....	ij <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 13th & 14th.	Item for ij shertes bought for the Kinges fole by Hugh Denes.....	ij <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 16th- 22nd.	Item for a cote and a payr of hooves bought and made for the Kinges fole.....	xv <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 30th.	Item for making of the bonefuyre.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 1st-4th.	Item for making of the bonefuyr.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 22nd- 24th.	Item to Arnold Jeffrey, organ pleyer, for a quarter wages vnto Midsomer last.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 31st.	Item for the foles master wages.....	x <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 5th- 11th.	Item to my Lorde of Oxon. jocular.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to my Lorde of Oxon. bereward.....	iiij <sup>s</sup>
	Item to one that held my Lorde of Oxon. bere in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 19th- 25th.	Item to a fole at Master Knyvettes.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the waytes of Norwich in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Misdated "secundo die Febr."



Aug. 26th-31st.	Item to the waites of Lynne in rewarde.....	viijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 2nd-4th.	Item for the foles master wages.....	x <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 8th-11th.	Item to the waytes of Cambrige in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 16th-18th.	Item to a piper at Huntingdon.....	ij <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 19th-21st.	Item to iij waites at Northampton.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 23rd-28th.	Item to Malueshede for bowles.....	iiij <sup>s</sup>
	Item to my Lady Bray for the Quenes mynystrelx at Brandon Fery.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 6th.	Item for the Kinges losse at cardes at Hegecote <sup>1</sup> .....	iijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item for the foles master wages.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 11th-16th.	Item to my Lorde Prince organpleyer for a quarter wages endid at Michell.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item deliuered to ij mynistr. of Flaunders.....	x <sup>li</sup>
Dec. 28th.	Item to Jacques Haute for the disguysing.....	xx <sup>li</sup>
	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell for singing of the Auditt.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the Children of the Chapell for singing of Gloria in excelsis deo.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to a tumbuler at my Lorde Bathes.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Prince organ pleyer.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the pleyers of London in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to ij taberettes and a tumbuler.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the pleyers of Wicombe in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>

## 1499

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenes mynystrelx in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 2nd-4th.	Item to Guyllam my Lorde Prince luter.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to a Scott, a fole, in rewarde.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Prince pleyers in rewarde.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 5th-11th.	Item to my Lorde of Essex pleyers.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 15th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> vijs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 22nd.	Item to my Lorde Prince pleyers in rewarde.....	xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Kingeston for a reward yeuen to iij waites at Seint George Felde.....	iijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 28th.	Item to the piper in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Prince poete in rewarde.....	lxvjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Mar. 3rd-5th.	Item to Jacques Haulte in full payment for the dis- guysing at Cristenmes.....	xxxij <sup>li</sup> xviijs <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
Mar. 22nd.	Item for my Lorde Prince organ pleyer wages.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 24th.	Item to Vincent tharmorer in party of payment for v. jousting harnesse.....	c <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 31st.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 26th.	Item to Sir Thomas Brandon for mynystrelx.....	x <sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Hedge Court in Surrey.

# THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 35

Jun. 6th.	Item to the maygame at Grenewich.....	iiij <sup>s</sup>
	Item for the Kinges losse at tenes.....	viiij <sup>s</sup>
	Item for the waites of London in Rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the players with mamenttes <sup>1</sup> .....	iiij <sup>l</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Straunge mynystrelx.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 8th.	Item to the Frenshe mynystr. in rewarde.....	vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to other Frenshe mynystrelx.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item deliuered for the fole in rewarde.....	v <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 15th.	Item to the organpleyer in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 22nd.	Item to Sir John Cheyneys mynystrelles.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 20th.	Item to Roger Barne for making of the Kinges sete at the butt.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Robert Whighthill for making of the Kinges butt.....	ix <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 26th.	Item to the Kinges piper in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Aug. 16th.	Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Aug. 20th.	Item to iij Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 23rd.	Item to my Lorde of Northumbl. waites.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Nov. 1st. <sup>2</sup>	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 29th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item deliuered to Ringeley in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the players of London in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to a Spaynyard that tumbled before the King in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>

## 1500

Jan. 1st-3rd.	Item to the Scottish fole in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the trumpettes that blewe when the King come over the water.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 5th- 11th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....	xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 1st.	Item to the waites of London in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Feb. 1st.	Item to the Kings players in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Feb. 14th.	Item to Jakes Haulte for the disguising in Cristenmes last passed.....	viiij <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
Mar. 13th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to William Cornyshe for a rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 16th.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 25th.	Item deliuerd the Kinges grace for play on Sunday at night.....	xxxiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 15th.	Item to the Frenche dawncers in rewarde.....	iiij <sup>l</sup>
	Item to a straunge harper in rewarde.....	xij <sup>d</sup>
Sept. 11th.	Item to iij mynstrelles in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
Sept. 17th.	Item deliuered to Weston for the Kinges grace to play with.....	xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
Sept. 30th.	Item to Jakes Haute upon his bill.....	xxij <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Jakes Haute for ij mynystrelles.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Oct. 23rd.	Item to Weston for ij singers in rewarde.....	iiij <sup>l</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Variant of maumet, a doll or puppet.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O. E. 101/415/3.

Dec. 24th.	Item to the waites of Abyndon.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Thomas Blakall, the Kinges foule.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to Master Newark for Saint Nicolas <sup>1</sup> .....	liij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>

## 1501

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Walshe harper in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 8th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell in rewarde.....	x <sup>li</sup>
	Item to Ryngesley for hym and his company.....	c <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the Kinges players in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Jan.	Item to the Kinges players in rewarde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Prince players in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 4th-6th.	Item to Edmond Arundell servaunt in rewarde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to his servaunt that pleyed on the corde <sup>2</sup> .....	x <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 9th.	Item sent to the Duc of Buk. for joustes.....	cxixiiij <sup>li</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 11th.	Item to therle of Suff. for the joustes.....	li <sup>li</sup>
	Item to therle of Essex.....	xxxiiij <sup>li</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Harington.....	xxv <sup>li</sup>
	Item to Lorde William of Devonshire.....	xxv <sup>li</sup>
Apr. 23rd.	Item for a pair of new organes.....	viiij <sup>li</sup>
	Item to Sir Rouland for the joustes.....	xl <sup>li</sup>
	Item to the waites of London.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item deliuered and payd by the Kinges comande for diuerse and many iuelles brought oute of Fraunce agenst the mariage of my Lorde Prince.....	xiiij <sup>M</sup> li <sup>li</sup>
Apr. 30th.	Item to Antony the tumbler in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
May 21st.	Item for a lute for my Lady Margaret.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Sir George Herbert for the joustes.....	xl <sup>li</sup>
May 28th.	Item to Sir Edward Darell for joustes.....	xl <sup>li</sup>
	Item to James Braybrok for the Kinges play.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 12th.	Item to the mynystrelles of Caunterbury.....	v <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 25th.	Item to a Spaynyard that pleyd on the corde.....	x <sup>li</sup>
Jun. 30th.	Item for making of the bonefuyr in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item deliuered to my Lorde Barnes for the joustes.....	li <sup>li</sup>
	Item to Jakes Haulte opon ij billes.....	liij <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup> ob.
	Item to John Atkinson for certain stuff to be bought for Jakes Haulte.....	xx <sup>li</sup>
Jul. 16th.	Item deliuered to John Atkinson for silkes to be bought for the disguysing.....	x <sup>li</sup>
	Item to the King for pleyng in the barge.....	ij <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the mynystrelles at my L. Chambl.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 23rd.	Item to John Atkinson in full payment of his rekenynges for the disguysinges.....	xxxiiij <sup>li</sup> xviij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Presumably a payment for some musical setting for St. Nicholas Day, 6 December, by the composer William Newark.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a performer on the crowd (an ancient bowed and plucked instrument), the minstrel's instrument *par excellence*.



Jul. 31st.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to John Atkinson opon his boke.....xxiiij <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 6th.	Item deliuered to Cornyshe for a disguysing .....x <sup>l</sup>
	Item to the pleyers at Myles Ende.....iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 13th.	Item to Weston for the Kinges pleyng at cardes.....viij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item for the Kinges pleyng money.....xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 18th.	Item to John Atkinson apon a prest <sup>1</sup> .....x <sup>l</sup>
	Item to my Lorde the Duc of Yorkes fole.....vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 22nd	Item to William Cornyshe for disguysing.....x <sup>l</sup>
& 23rd.	Item to John Atkinson for an other disguysing.....xx <sup>l</sup>
Aug. 31st.	Item to John Atkinson for John Englishe.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item for the frame of the tentt that Sir Charles and Master Comptroller hath devised.....lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to James Braybroke for the Kinges pley.....xxiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 8th.	Item to John Atkinson for the tentt.....xxv <sup>l</sup>
	Item for Cornyshe disguysing.....x <sup>l</sup>
	Item for John English pagient.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 20th.	Item to Cornyshe for his pagent.....x <sup>l</sup>
	Item to a Scottishe fole in rewarde.....vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to John Atkinson in full payment of his rekenyng vnto this day.....lxxix <sup>l</sup> ix <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to tharcheduc mynstrelles in rewarde.....c <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 5th.	Item deliuered to John Atkinson by bille.....lxxiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Oct. 15th.	Item to theym that daunced to mores daunce.....xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Frauncois for the Princes mynstrelles.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 29th.	Item deliuered to John Atkinson apon a bille for the disguysinges.....liij <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> ob.
Nov. 3rd.	Item to Cornyshe for his iiij pagenttes.....xx <sup>l</sup>
	Item to John English for his pagent.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 14th.	Nuptie Arthur' princ. ad dmna. Katerina prin. Hispanie at Poules. <sup>2</sup>
	Item for cariage of the Pryncesse of Spain from Poules to the water.....xiij <sup>d</sup>
Nov. 20th.	Item to Whiting for Kinges standing in the Chepeside <sup>3</sup> .....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 4th.	Item to the Princesse stylmynstrels <sup>4</sup> at Westm.....xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the Princesse trumpettes in rewarde.....xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to ij other trumpettes in rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to ix trumpettes of Spayn.....iiij <sup>l</sup>
	Item to therle of Spayn <sup>5</sup> trumpettes.....xl <sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, advance money paid by the sovereign on account of work or service to be rendered.

<sup>2</sup> St. Paul's Cathedral.

<sup>3</sup> The stage of scaffold prepared for the king, from which he could watch the entry of Katherine of Aragon, which had taken place on 12 November.

<sup>4</sup> Players of soft musical instruments such as the recorders.

<sup>5</sup> One of the Spanish nobles accompanying Katharine ; that is, literally, " the Earl of Spain ".

Dec. 17th.	Item to my Lady Bray for ij mynystrelles.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the rymer of Scotland in rewarde.....	vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>

## 1502

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenes mynystrelles in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 7th.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to hym that played upon the corde.....	iiij <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to his childe that played with hym.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to ij Spaynyshe minstrelles in rewarde.....	c <sup>s</sup>
	Item to one that sett the Kinges cleyvecorde.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to John Englishe the pleyer.....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to my Lorde of Yorke to pley at dice.....	lxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item for the Kinges loss at chesse.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell in rewarde	
		xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the players upon xij <sup>th</sup> eve.....	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to John Atkinson vpon his rekenyng.....	c <sup>l</sup>
	Item to Ryngeley, Abbot of Mysrule.....	vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Kinges players in rewarde.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 8th- 28th.	Item to the Kinges players in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the new trumpett in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to a rymer of Scotland.....	vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 4th.	Item to one Lewes for a mores daunce.....	liij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 6th- 11th.	Item to the Duc of Yorkes fole.....	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 18th.	Item to Weston for the Kinges losse at disse upon Srove Monday.....	xxxiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item for ij shertes to the fole.....	ij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to John Atkinson in full payment of all his reken- yng vnto xij <sup>th</sup> tide.....	liij <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup> ob.
	Item to John Atkinson and Englishe in full payment of all their rekenynges from xij <sup>th</sup> tide to this day.....	xiiij <sup>l</sup> xvj <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 26th.	Item for a pair of new organes.....	xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Quenes mynystrelles in rewarde.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 19th.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	x <sup>s</sup>
May 13th.	Item to John Atkinson upon a bille.....	xxxj <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to John Atkinson upon a bille.....	xij <sup>l</sup> x <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
May 20th.	Item to iij of my Lady Princes mynystrelles.....	lx <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 25th.	Item to Whiting for straunge mynystrelles.....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 11th. <sup>1</sup>	Item to a droner that played on the drone.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 2nd.	Item to the Quenes grace for the disguysing.....	x <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell for singing of Gloria in excelsis.....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the players of St. Albones.....	x <sup>s</sup>

# THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 39

1503

Jan. 1st.	Item to the tumbler in rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 2nd.	Item to one that brought the King a leopard.....xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to thabbot of Mysrule in rewarde.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kings Chapell.....xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 20th.	Item to Laurence, master of the tumblers.....c <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 12th.	Item to Lewes Adam that made disguysings.....x <sup>l</sup>
May 19th.	Item to an organmaker for the conveyance of a pair of organs from Westminster unto Richemount.....x <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Sep. 15th.	Item to Weston for the King to play at cleke <sup>1</sup> at Burton opon Trent.....x <sup>l</sup> <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 1st.	Item to Clement for tables and chessmen.....iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell for singing of Gloria in excelsis.....x <sup>l</sup> <sup>s</sup>
	Item to Cornyshe of the chapell.....x <sup>l</sup> <sup>s</sup>

1504

Jan. 1st.	Item to litell mayden the tumbler.....xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to Vonecorps the tumbler in rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Feb. 23rd.	Item to therralds at Armes for their largess at the creacon of my Lorde Prince.....c <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 6th.	Item for a pair of clarycords.....x <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 31st.	Item to John Sudborough for a songe.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 30th.	Item to the pages of the hall for the making of the bonefyr in rewarde.....x <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 4th.	Item to Watt the luter that pleyed the fole.....xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Oct. 11th.	Item for making of the butts at Woking.....ix <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
Nov. 22nd.	Item to Richard Nevill for Watt the fole.....x <sup>s</sup>

1505

Jan. 12th.	Item to thabbot of Mysrule in rewarde.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
May 23rd. <sup>2</sup>	Item to Peres Barbor for fecheng of one that playd vpon the organs in the galary at Richemount.....xiiij <sup>d</sup>
May 31st.	Item to Piers Barbor for him that played at thorgans in the galary at Richemount.....x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the players at Kingeston toward the bilding of the churche stiple in almns <sup>3</sup> .....iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 28th.	Item for making of the Kinges bonefyer.....x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to Piers Crossebowmaker vpon his bill for making of the butt and a pentes over it <sup>4</sup> .....vj <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Glossed by Craven Orde as "Gleek". This was a three-handed card game known at least by the early sixteenth century. This seems reasonable.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Add. MS. 21480.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably for "alms", as a gift.

<sup>4</sup> A target for archery covered by some sort of penthouse or pentice, a sloping roof.

Jul. 25th.	Item to Sir Bartilmew Rede for iiij oz of gold made in ringes for the justes at Richemont.....viiij <sup>l</sup>
	Item to the gentilmen of the Kinges chapell for to drinke with a bucke <sup>1</sup> .....xl <sup>s</sup>
Aug. 1st.	Item for an horsse for Martyn the kinges fole.....xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item for a lute for my Lady Mare.....xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 15th.	Item to Clais goyng to Richemount with wilde cattes and popyngais <sup>2</sup> of the Newe Founde Island.....xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to Portingales <sup>3</sup> that brought popingais and cattes of the mountaigne with other stuf to the King.....c <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 21st.- 27th.	Item to the waytes of Salesbury in reward.....v <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 1st. <sup>4</sup>	Item to a taberer at Salesbury in rewarde.....xiij <sup>d</sup>
Oct. 31st.	Item to Master Pieter of the Kinges closet for the wages of diuerse prestes due at Michell. last passed whiche singeth for the Kinges grace in diuerse places as appereth by a bill of the names.....xxxv <sup>l</sup> xiij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for wages of diuerse prestes that singeth for the Kinges grace as appereth by the said bill.....xxx <sup>l</sup>
Nov. 7th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell in rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup>

## 1506

Jan. 2nd.	Item to the Children of the Chapell for singyng of Gloria in excelsis vpon Cristenmes Day.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenes mynystrelles in rewarde.....xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the players that played afore the Lorde Stewarde in the hall vpon Sunday nyght.....vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to my Lorde Princes players that played in the hall vpon Newyeres Even.....x <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 10th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the iiij players of the Kinges Chapel.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the Lorde of Misrule in rewarde.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Feb. 20th.	Item to the King of Castelles mynystrelles in rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to x. Speres that justed afore the King euery of them vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> the pece, that is to say furst Moryce Seint John, John Car, William Par, Charles Brandon, Edwarde Nevile, Sir Rowland, Christofer Willoughby, George Bowaer, Walter Bawmefeld, and Griffeth Don..c marcs
	Item to the straunge mynystrelles that played afore the king in rewarde.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Mar. 6th.	Item to the King of Castilles fole in reward.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 3rd.	Item to Edwarde Guylford vpon his bill signed for certein spere staves spent at the Kinges justes lately kepte at Richemounte.....xx <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally, a sort of party, a feast of deer with drink provided.<sup>2</sup> Form of popinjay, a parrot.<sup>3</sup> Portuguese.<sup>4</sup> P.R.O. E. 36/214.



Apr. 10th.	Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon a bill for the wages of diuerse prestes singyng for the Kinges grace for one halue yeres ended at our Lady Day thanunciation. ....	xxx <sup>l</sup>
	Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the wages of diuerse prestes singing for the King for the half yeres wages due at the said day. ....	xxxiiij <sup>l</sup> xix <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>
May 8th.	Item to the waytes of Walsingham in rewarde. ....	v <sup>s</sup>
May 15th.	Item to the Children of my Lorde of Oxfordes Chapel. ....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
May 22nd.	Item for setting vppe of the may pole at Westmynster. ....	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 5th.	Item to v. straunge mynstrelles that pleyd affore the King in rewarde. ....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 26th.	Item to the pages of the hall for making of bonfyer vpon Midsomer Even in rewarde. ....	x <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 10th.	Item to the ladd that kepeth the wylde catte. ....	x <sup>s</sup>
	Item to Alexandre, a shakbusshe, for his wages for the moneth of June last past. ....	xx <sup>s</sup>
	Item to Jonet De, pade an Shalmes, <sup>1</sup> for his wages for the moneth of June last passed. ....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Aug. 7th.	Item to the Gentylnen of the Kinges Chapell. ....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Aug. 14th.	Item to Hugh Denys in newe gros. <sup>2</sup> for playng mony. ....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Aug. 21st.	Item to one Boncours, a tumbler, in rewarde. ....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 4th.	Item to Master Tresourer for playng money for the King. ....	c <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 11th.	Item to Hugh Denys for playng money. ....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 18th.	Item to Sir Pieter Grevis vpon a bill for the wages of diuerse prestes singing for the Kinges grace for oone half a yere ending at this Michell. next comyng anno xxij <sup>do</sup> . ....	xxxiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
	Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the wages of diuerse other prestes singing for the Kinges grace for oone half a yere. ....	xxix <sup>l</sup> v <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 6th.	Item to the Cheldren of the Kinges Chapel. ....	xx <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 25th.	Item to the Children of the Chapell for singing of Gloria in excelsis on Cristenmes Day. ....	xl <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 29th.	Item to Richard Smyth vpon a bill for master John the King of Castilles fole. ....	xv <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 30th.	Item to the players that played affore the Lorde Steward in the hall vpon Tewesday nyght. ....	x <sup>s</sup>

1507

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenys mynstrelles in rewarde. ....	xl <sup>s</sup>
	Item to the iiij players of the Chapell that played affore the Kinges grace in rewarde. ....	vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 7th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell in rewarde. ....	xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 16th.	Item to the Kinges iiij players that played affore the King vpon xij <sup>th</sup> day at nyght. ....	xl <sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A performer on the shawm.

<sup>2</sup> Grossae—groats.

Jan. 23rd.	Item to the Lorde of Misrule for his besynes in Cristen- mes in rewarde.....vj <sup>l</sup> xii <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Mar. 19th.	Item to thabbot of Brutaingn in rewarde.....xx <sup>l</sup> Item to the same Abbot for mending of a payr of organs in rewarde.....lxxij <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 28th.	Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon his ij billes signed for the wages of diuerse prestes that syngeth masses for the Kinges grace.....lxij <sup>l</sup> xj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
May 10th.	Item to William Creswell vpon a bill for mending of the tilt.....v <sup>s</sup> xj <sup>d</sup>
May 11th.	Item to the berwarde <sup>1</sup> in rewarde.....vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jun. 28th.	Item to the gromes of thall for makynge of the Kinges bonefyer in rewarde.....x <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 20th.	Item to Robert Knolles for a blowyng horne bought for the Kinges grace.....iii <sup>j</sup> <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 25th.	Item to Whytyng for a cocke that the Kinges grace kylled at Chesterford with his crosbowe.....viij <sup>d</sup>
Jul. 26th.	Item to the Gentelmen of the Kinges Chapell to drynke with buckes.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 31st.	Item to the mynstrelles of Cambrige in rewarde.....vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 8th.	Item to theim that pleyed vpon their stilts affore the King at Somersham in rewarde.....ii <sup>j</sup> <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Aug. 22nd.	Item to the Lorde Grey of Wilton for a dragon that he brought the King.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Sep. 3rd.	Item to Richard Deynos, oone of the kinges mynstrelles, in rewarde.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 4th.	Item to vj mynstrelles of Fraunce that played afore the Kinges grace at Habyngton <sup>2</sup> .....xl <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 5th.	Item to the mynstrelles that pleyed vpon Habyngdon Brigge in rewarde.....ii <sup>j</sup> <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Oct. 11th.	Item to Master Hastynges for to bye certain thynges for Master John the Frenche foole.....x <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 1st.	Item to John Somerlane for fynding of the Kinges grace sportes for his crosbowe in rewarde.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 2nd.	Item to the Childern of the Kinges Chapell.....xx <sup>s</sup> Item to Sir Peter Greves vpon oone bill for the quarter wages of dyuerse prestes syngyng for the Kynges grace, due at Mychell. last past.....xxviij <sup>l</sup> v <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 3rd.	Item to the said Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the wages of diuerse prestes syngyng for the Kinges grace.....xxxiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 7th.	Item to John Blanke, the blacke trumpet, <sup>3</sup> for his moneth wages of Novembre last passed at viij <sup>d</sup> the day.....xx <sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bearward, the keeper of a bear.<sup>2</sup> Abingdon, Berkshire.<sup>3</sup> I believe this John Blank was, in fact, a Negro. In the Great Roll of the tournament at Westminster in February 1511, preserved at the College of Arms, a negro musician is twice depicted amongst the king's trumpets. This, I think, was John Blank, the "blacke trumpet".

Dec. 20th.	Item delyuered to Master Wentworth for to make a dysguysing for a moryce daunce.....xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 25th.	Item to the Children of the Chapell for syngyng of Gloria in excelsis in rewarde.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Dec. 29th.	Item to Master Gyles, luter, for strynges for my Lady Mares lute.....xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Dec. 31st.	Item to Master Wentworth towarde the making of a dysguysing for a moryce daunce.....c <sup>s</sup>

1508

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenys mynstrelles in rewarde.....xl <sup>s</sup> Item to my Lorde Princes trumpettes in rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Jan. 6th.	Item to the Gentelmen of the Chapell.....xiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 7th.	Item to the v Gentelmen of the Kinges Chapell that played in the hall vpon xij <sup>th</sup> nyght afore the Kinges grace in rewarde.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 14th.	Item to iiij children that played afore the King.....iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Jan. 23rd.	Item to the Lorde of Mysrule in rewarde for his busynes in Cristenmes holydays.....vj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Mar. 20th.	Item to John Redes marynors that rowed vpe and down syngyng afore the Kinges manor at Grenewyche for their rewarde.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Mar. 21st.	Item to Sir Pieter, clerk of the Kinges Closet, vpon a bill signed for certen prestes syngyng dailly for the Kinges grace, for their half yeres wages ended at the fest of thannunciacion of our Lady, anno xxiiij <sup>o</sup> .....xxxiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill signed for certain prestes dailly singyng in diuerse places for the Kinges grace, for their half yeres wages ended at the said fest, anno predicto.....xxiiij <sup>l</sup> xx <sup>d</sup>
Apr. 10th.	Item for tables, chessemen and dyses.....xj <sup>s</sup>
Apr. 22nd.	Item to oone Jacobe Hardy that is with the King of Castelles fole in rewarde.....x <sup>s</sup>
May 8th.	Item to the straunge mynstrelles that played vpon the water affore the Kinges grace in rewarde.....xl <sup>s</sup>
Jun. 30th.	Item to the gromes of the hall for making of the Kinges bonefire in rewarde.....x <sup>s</sup>
Jul. 25th.	Item to Bartram Bruard, mynstrell, for his moneth wages for July.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Aug. 31st.	Item for Peter, the new mynstrell, wages.....xxxj <sup>s</sup>
Oct. 29th.	Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon a bill signed for the wages of certain prestes singing for the Kinges grace for oone half a yere, due at Michell. last past anno xxiiij <sup>o</sup> .....xxxiiij <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> Item to the same vpon a nother bill signed for lyke wages, due at Mychell. last passed.....xix <sup>l</sup> xviiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Oct. 30th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....xx <sup>s</sup>
Nov. 19th.	Item to Richard Smyth for playng money for the King.....xl <sup>s</sup>

- Dec. 4th. Item to John, late the King of Castelles fole, in Re.....xl<sup>s</sup>  
 Dec. 19th. Item to Wynnesbery vpon a prest towarde the King of  
 his Lordship of his Mysrule <sup>1</sup>.....lxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Dec. 25th. Item to the Children of the Chapell for synging of Gloria  
 in excelsis in rewarde.....xl<sup>s</sup>  
 Item to Master Kyte Cornysse and other of the Chapell  
 that played affore the King at Richemounte.....vj<sup>ll</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

## 1509

- Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenes mynstrelles.....xl<sup>s</sup>  
 Item to my Lorde Princes trumpettes.....xx<sup>s</sup>  
 Jan. 2nd. Item to my Lorde of Buckinghams players that playd in  
 the hall at Grenewyche in rewarde.....vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Jan. 7th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....xiiij<sup>ll</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item to diuerse of the Kinges Chapell that playde afore  
 the King vpon xij<sup>th</sup> nyght.....liij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item to the Kinges players in rewarde.....xl<sup>s</sup>  
 Item to the Abbot of Mysrule in full payment of x. marcs  
 for his besynes in Cristenmes tyde in rewarde.....lxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Mar. 25th. Item to the Kinges grace for playng money.....xl<sup>s</sup>  
 Apr. 10th. Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon oone bill for the wages  
 of certen prestes singyng in diuerse places for the  
 Kinges grace.....xxxiiij<sup>ll</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item to the said Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the  
 wages of certen prestes singyng in diuerse places for  
 the Kinges grace.....xix<sup>ll</sup> xviiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

## APPENDIX

COMPANIES OF PLAYERS AND MINSTRELS REFERRED TO IN HERON'S  
ACCOUNTS

- King's Players.* Jan. 1494; Jan. 1496; April 1496; Jan. 1497; Feb. 1497;  
 Jan. 1498 (*bis*); Feb. 1500; Jan. 1501 (*bis*); Jan. 1502 (*bis*); Jan. 1507;  
 Jan. 1509.  
*Players of the King's Chapel.* Jan. 1506; Jan. 1508; Jan. 1509.  
*Child Players before the King.* Jan. 1508.  
*Prince's Players.* Jan. 1499; Feb. 1499; Jan. 1501; Jan. 1506.  
*Essex's Players.* Jan. 1494; Jan. 1496; Dec. 1497; Jan. 1498; Dec. 1498;  
 Jan. 1499; Jan. 1503.  
*Lord of Oxford's Players, Jocular and Chapel.* Jan. 1492; Jan. 1496; Jan. 1498;  
 Aug. 1498; May 1506.  
*Players of Wycombe.* Dec. 1494; Jan. 1498; Dec. 1498.

<sup>1</sup> This is an obscurely phrased entry, but it must mean that the payment is an advance to Wynnesbury for his Christmas performance as Lord of Misrule. The payment is completed under 7 January 1509.



*Players of London.* Dec. 1497 ; Dec. 1498 ; Dec. 1499.

*French Players.* Jan. 1494 ; Jan. 1495.

*Lord of Northumberland's Players and Waits.* Jan. 1493 ; Aug. 1499.

*Players of Wimborne Minster.* Jan. 1494.

*Players at Myles End.* Aug. 1501.

*Players of St. Albans.* Dec. 1502.

*Players at Kingston.* May 1505.

*Lord of Buckingham's Players.* Jan. 1509.

*Unspecified Players.* Jan. 1496 (*bis*) ; Jan. 1497 (*bis*) ; Jan. 1502 ; Jan. 1506 ; Dec. 1506.

*Royal Musicians.* Trumpeters, sackbuts and other minstrels received regular quarterly payments throughout the reign. Similarly the queen's minstrels are often referred to in the accounts and seem to have served the king almost as much as the queen.

*Prince's Minstrels.* Sept. 1496 ; Sept. 1497 ; March 1498 ; Oct. 1501.

*French Minstrels and Queen of France's Minstrels.* Feb. 1495 ; May 1497 ; June 1497 ; July 1497 ; Dec. 1497 ; Jan. 1498 ; Feb. 1498 ; April 1498 ; May 1498 ; June 1499 (*bis*) ; Aug. 1499 (*bis*) ; Oct. 1507.

*Other Minstrels.* Lady York's Minstrels (Jan. 1492) ; Suffolk's Minstrels (March 1492) ; Shawms of Maidstone (July 1492) ; Minstrels of Sandwich (Sept. 1492) ; Lady Margaret's Minstrels (Feb. 1494) ; Sir John Cheyney's Minstrels (Aug. 1496 and June 1499) ; Duke of York's Minstrels (Oct. 1496 and May 1498) ; Minstrels of London (Nov. 1496 *bis*) ; Arundel's Minstrels (Jan. 1497) ; Minstrels of Northampton (June 1497) ; Archduke's Minstrels (July 1497 and Sept. 1501) ; Minstrels of Exeter (Oct. 1497) ; Lord Strange's Minstrels (June 1499) ; Minstrels of Canterbury (June 1501) ; Princess's Minstrels (Dec. 1501 and May 1502) ; Minstrels at My Lord Chamberlain's (July 1501) ; King of Castile's Minstrels (Feb. 1506) ; Minstrels of Cambridge (July 1507).

## HENRY VI AND THE DUKE OF YORK'S SECOND PROTECTORATE, 1455 TO 1456<sup>1</sup>

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MOST modern writers state that Henry VI twice became insane during the fourteen fifties and that the duke of York twice became Protector and Defender of the realm as a result of the king's incapacity to attend to affairs of state. A close examination of the events leading up to the two protectorates, however, reveals a very different state of affairs on each occasion and provides material for some inferences about York's intentions and ambitions.

The parliament of 1453, which attainted the duke of York's chamberlain, Sir William Oldhall, for his part in York's armed demonstration in 1452 and for alleged complicity in Cade's rebellion, was prorogued on 2 July. By 10 August at the latest Henry VI was seriously ill.<sup>2</sup> His illness is vouched for by at least ten contemporary or near contemporary writers.<sup>3</sup> Abbot

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Mr. R. Virgoe and Mr. K. Wallis for help and criticism in writing this paper.

<sup>2</sup> *Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner (4 vols., 1910), Intro., p. cxlix, n. 2. Giles's Chronicle, see *infra*, says about the feast of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (3 July).

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson B. 355, Bale, Gough London 10 (Rawlinson and Gough mention Henry's recovery only) in R. Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles of England* (1911), pp. 108, 140, 158; Vitellius A XVI in C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London* (1905), p. 163; Giles's Chronicle in *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Anglie de Regnis Trium Regum Lancastrensiū*, ed. J. A. Giles (1848), p. 44; R. Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France* (1811), p. 627; *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (1938), p. 186; William Worcester (Annals formerly attributed to) in J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France* (Rolls Ser., 1861-4), ii, pt. ii, 771. See also *infra*. In addition Gregory and Davies's Chronicles mention Henry's sickness without giving specific dates though Gregory makes it clear that it was before the first battle of St. Albans. (*The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., 1876), pp. 198-9; *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI*, ed. J. S. Davies (Camden Soc., 1856), p. 78.)

Whethamstede of St. Albans described his symptoms in some detail<sup>1</sup> and the Exchequer Issue Rolls show that attendants were specially paid for sitting with him day and night.<sup>2</sup> Early in January 1454 (possibly on New Year's day) the queen and the duke of Buckingham presented the infant Prince of Wales to the king at Windsor and asked for his blessing on the child. Henry gave no sign of recognition; he only once looked upon the prince and then cast down his eyes again.<sup>3</sup>

Even in these tragic circumstances there was a delay of eight months before York was made protector. The court refused to admit that the king was ill. After parliament re-assembled at Reading on 12 November the chancellor had explained the king's absence by the plague then prevailing in the town and other unnamed causes. The session had been immediately prorogued to February.<sup>4</sup> According to a letter written at the time, the queen, by mid-January, had already drawn up plans for exercising the regency herself.<sup>5</sup> By the middle of February the question could be evaded no longer. York, with the assent of the council, obtained a limited commission authorizing him to open parliament as the king's lieutenant.<sup>6</sup> When parliament met most people were anxious to avoid committing themselves on the major question.<sup>7</sup> The attendance in the Upper House was very poor and for the first and only known occasion in English medieval

<sup>1</sup> *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Ser., 1872-3), i. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Issue Rolls, E. 403/800, m. 7; E. 403/801, m. 2. These payments were made on 5 February and 9 May 1455 and the entries show that they were an addition to the usual sums paid "garconibus et pagettis Camere Regis".

<sup>3</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 263-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 238. On 24 October a Great Council had been held at Westminster to which York was not summoned, but then at the insistence of his friends a writ was sent to him (*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ed. Sir H. Nicolas (1834-7), vi. 163-4; Sir J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* (1892), ii. 167).

<sup>5</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 265. Described by the editor as a "News Letter of John Stodeley".

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> "Many of the lords, it seems, had showed their reluctance to commit themselves personally by staying away from parliament altogether in this difficult time" (J. S. Roskell, "The Problem of the Attendance of the Lords in Medieval Parliaments", *B.I.H.R.*, xxix (1956), 189).

history fines were imposed on peers for non-attendance.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this only forty-five peers out of a total of 105 summoned appear to have been present during the session and only fourteen out of thirty-seven lay peers below the rank of viscount.<sup>2</sup> It seems, in fact, that the section of the peerage whose support it was most desirable to obtain tried to avoid committing themselves by staying away and York (or those who advised him) tried to compel their support or, at least, their approval. On 15 March Prince Edward was created Prince of Wales and earl of Chester.<sup>3</sup> On 22 March Cardinal Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, died and the problem of filling two such important posts seems to have precipitated the question of the regency. The Lords then commissioned twelve of their number to ride down to Windsor and put this and other matters before the king if he was well enough to discuss them.<sup>4</sup> When on 25 March the Lords' deputation waited on the king they found his condition far worse than they had expected. They saw him three times in the course of the day. Henry was in a state of utter prostration, both physical and mental. He had to be supported by two men as he moved from one room to another and he gave the Lords no word nor sign of recognition.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, being unable to avoid an embarrassing decision any longer, on 27 March the Lords appointed Richard of York as Protector. At the same time they tried to hedge in his authority with drastic restrictions. The Lords made their opinions very plain when they laid it down that the said Duke shall be chief of the Kynges Counsaill, and devysed therfor to the said Duke a name different from other Counsaillours, nought the name of Tutour, Lieutenaunt, Governour, nor of Regent, nor noo name that shall emporte auctorite of governaunce of the lande; but the said name of Protectour and Defensour, the whiche emporteth a personell duete of entendaunce to the actuell defence of this land, aswell ayenst th'enemyes outward, if case require, as ayenst Rebelles inward, if eny happe to be, that God forbede, duryng the Kynges pleaser, and so that it be not prejudice to my Lord Prince. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

The arrangement was to continue only during the king's pleasure or until the Prince of Wales should become of age.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Roskell, *B.I.H.R.*, xxix (1956), pp. 189-90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 190-1.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 249.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 240-1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* v. 241-2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* v. 242.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* v. 243-4; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, p. 159. A prospective appointment for the prince on reaching years of discretion was sealed at the same time (*Rot. Parl.* v. 243).



The poor attendance of Lords at the parliament, the care taken to safeguard the interests of the prince and the restricted powers which were all that York was allowed<sup>1</sup>, and the definition of a narrow executive authority seem to indicate that few people were entirely happy about the arrangement.

York controlled the government for the rest of the year. Although his great rival, Somerset, was imprisoned in the Tower of London,<sup>2</sup> the Protector behaved with moderation. By the end of December the king had recovered his sanity.<sup>3</sup> On 7 February Somerset was released from the Tower under recognizances which the council discharged a month later. Henry declared Somerset his faithful liegeman and both he and York entered into recognizances to abide by the arbitration of Thomas Bourchier, the new archbishop of Canterbury, and seven others on any outstanding disputes between them, the decision to be given by 20 June.<sup>4</sup> York's first protectorate had ended.<sup>5</sup> There now began the drift to hostilities which resulted in the first battle of St. Albans (22 May 1455). St. Albans was not a large-scale battle; one authority has described it as "a short scuffle in a street".<sup>6</sup> The numbers engaged were small and the casualties probably numbered no more than 60. York found very little support amongst the peerage at the time of the battle. Apart from his brother-in-law and his nephew, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the only peer present in the field with him was Lord Clinton, though his nephew, the duke of Norfolk, came up the following day.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> York's control of patronage was also defined and limited (*Rot. Parl.* v. 243-4).

<sup>2</sup> Somerset himself admitted that his confinement was more in the nature of protective custody than rigorous imprisonment (Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii. 168, n. 3).

<sup>3</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 315. It is possible that he was on the mend by early September when people already had access to him, though William Paston's words leave the matter doubtful (*ibid.* p. 303).

<sup>4</sup> Council and P.S., E. 28/86; T. Rymer, *Foedera, etc.* xi. 361-3; *Cal. Close Rolls, 1454-1461*, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> The precise date cannot be determined. See C. A. J. Armstrong, "Politics and the Battle of St. Albans, 1455", *B.I.H.R.*, xxxiii (1960), 8-9.

<sup>6</sup> C. Oman, *The Political History of England 1377 to 1485* (1910), p. 367.

<sup>7</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 333; Armstrong, *B.I.H.R.*, xxxiii. 18, 19, 38, 51. It is possible that Viscount Bourchier and Lord Cobham were also with the Yorkists but this must be regarded as doubtful (*ibid.*, pp. 21 and n. 5, 27).

In spite of his victory in the field there was once more considerable delay before York was appointed Protector ; his patent was not issued until five months later. Ever since Stubbs wrote in 1878 that before 12 November " the king was again insane " <sup>1</sup> most authors have been content to follow him in giving Henry's breakdown in health as the reason for the duke's appointment, <sup>2</sup> though not all have gone so far as to say that the king actually lost his reason. <sup>3</sup> Now this assumption that Henry's health broke down completely (or nearly completely) a second time seems to be very dubious. As far as I know no *definite* statement of this kind was ever made until the nineteenth century. <sup>4</sup> None of the chroniclers who briefly refer to Henry's lapse into insanity in 1453 mention illness in 1455-6. No writer of the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth centuries describes it. In fact, no statement about Henry's second illness is to be found in any chronicle or general history <sup>5</sup> until in 1823 Sharon Turner wrote " In June the King again became diseased " though he never used the term " insanity ". <sup>6</sup> Lingard, the next writer of a

<sup>1</sup> W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, iii, 173.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. J. R. Green, *History of the English People* (1877-80), i, 572 ; Oman, *op. cit.* p. 370 ; K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (1913), p. 446 ; M. E. Christie, *Henry VI* (1922), pp. 261-2 ; K. B. McFarlane, " The Lancastrian Kings " in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, viii (1936), 413 ; J. J. Bagley, *Margaret of Anjou* (1949), p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii, 185, 187, goes no further than saying that the king " was again found to be ill ". T. F. Tout in his article " Henry VI " in *D.N.B.* (1908) stated " Henry's illness was of a different character from the absolute prostration of his first attack. He was able to transact a little business. He personally committed the government to his council, requesting that they should inform him of all matters concerning his person. "

<sup>4</sup> The single dubious exception is Rapin de Thoyras, *The History of England*, trans. N. Tindal (2nd edn. 1732-3), i, 580, which incorrectly speaks of York opening the session of parliament in July " the King being then relapsed " and then refers to the king's state as an " Indisposition, which hindered him from attending to the Affairs of the Publick ". Rapin's chronology is very inaccurate at this point and his references are to Hall, Stowe, and Cotton's Abridgement, none of which mentions illness.

<sup>5</sup> The authors examined on this point are Polydore Vergil, Hall, Grafton, Holinshed, Stow, White Kennett, *A Complete History of England* (ed. 1706), T. Carte, *A General History of England* (1747-55), D. Hume, *The History of England From the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Accession of Henry VII* (1762), H. Hallam, *View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages* (1818).

<sup>6</sup> Sharon Turner, *The History of England During the Middle Ages*, iii (1823), 265.

general history, committed himself only to the very cautious statement that about the end of October "it was rumoured that Henry had relapsed into his former disorder".<sup>1</sup> The story of Henry's illness was again asserted by James Gairdner in the Introduction to his edition of the *Paston Letters* published in 1874<sup>2</sup> and, as we have seen, four years later it was taken over by Stubbs whose immense authority has probably been responsible for others accepting it as an undisputed fact.

It is easy to see how this legend arose. Sharon Turner for the first time juxtaposed statements made in two letters which had appeared in print for the first time during the eighteenth century in Thomas Rymer's *Foedera* and Sir James Fenn's edition of the *Paston Letters*. The first of these letters is a privy seal dated at Westminster on 5 June 1455 in which Gilbert Kemer, the dean of Salisbury, one of the most famous physicians of his day, was instructed to go to Windsor on the 12th "for as moche as we be occupied and laboured, as ye knowe wel, with Sicknesse and Infirmitees".<sup>3</sup> There is nothing in this letter which indicates an immediate or sudden deterioration in health. Even allowing for the fact that Henry had been wounded in the neck by an arrow at St. Albans only a fortnight before it is probably forcing the evidence to see in it more than a letter written on behalf of a man in a chronically poor state of health.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Lingard, *The History of England from the First Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary in 1688*, iv (1849), 116.

<sup>2</sup> In November "it was reported that he had fallen sick of his old infirmity—which proved to be too true" (*The Paston Letters, 1422-1509 A.D.* (1874), Intro. p. cxxiii (quoted from the reprint of 1896)). It is fair to say that later (p. cxxiv) Gairdner stated that the infirmity "on this occasion could scarcely have amounted to absolute loss of his faculties" though later writers seem to have lost sight of this.

<sup>3</sup> *Foedera*, xi. 366.

<sup>4</sup> It is unlikely that Kemer (who was a physician not a surgeon) was called in to deal with Henry's wound as on 15 July three surgeons were paid £10 (in part payment of £20 promised) "pro diversis magnis laboribus et diligenciis suis per ipsos factis circa personam domini Regis". (Issue Roll, E. 403/801, m. 7). It may well be that Henry was in a weak state after St. Albans though John Crane writing to John Paston three days after the battle stated that "he hathe no grete harme" (*Paston Letters*, i. 334). I have not succeeded in tracing any payments made to Gilbert Kemer. William Hatteclyffe, the king's physician, received no special payments over and above his ordinary annuity at this time.

Whatever interpretation is put on this letter to Kemer the king was at all events well enough to be present in person at the opening of parliament on 9 July and ten days later Henry Windsor wrote to his friends in East Anglia "the Kyng our souverain Lord, and all his trwe Lordes stand in hele of there bodies".<sup>1</sup> On the first day of the session the chancellor, by the king's command, read out certain articles on the cause of summoning parliament, which included matters as various as the organization of the royal household, financial provision for Calais, the defence of the realm, the settlement of differences amongst the nobility, the export of precious metals and the condition of Wales.<sup>2</sup> It may or may not be significant that no statement about the king's health was included amongst them. No other statement on this subject is to be found before 28 October—between the two sessions of parliament. John Gresham then wrote to John Paston the second letter referred to above. This letter describes in some detail the murder of Nicholas Radford, the recorder of Exeter, by a band of men led by Sir Thomas Courtenay, the earl of Devonshire's eldest son. The letter ends with a section which is badly mutilated but as it is vital to the argument it is best to quote it in full. The text reads:

This (i.e. the news of Radford's murder) was told to my Lord Chaunceler this fornoon . . . messengers as come of purpos owte of the same cuntre. This matier is take gretly . . . passed at ij. after mydnyght rood owte of London, as it is seid, more thanne . . . the best wyse. Summe seyne it was to ride toward my Lord of York, and summe . . . k, so meche rumor is here; what it menyth I wot not, God turne it . . . at Hertford, and summe men ar a ferd that he is seek agyen. I pray God . . . my Lords of York, Warwyk, Salesbury and other arn in purpos to conveye hym . . . &c. The seid N. Crome, berer her of, shall telle you suche tydynggs . . . in hast, at London, on Seint Simon day and Jude.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, Henry has been convicted of a second attack of madness on two very flimsy pieces of evidence—that he "sent for the doctor" on 5 June and that, nearly twenty-one weeks later, a London attorney hastily finishing a letter which, as he himself admitted, brought together a number of wild rumours which were floating about the capital at the time, mentioned that some men *ar a ferd* that the king is sick again. Likewise there is no definite evidence of Henry's recovery from his alleged illness.

<sup>1</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 345.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 279.

<sup>3</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 350-2.



A rumour current by 9 February 1456 that York was about to be "discharged"<sup>1</sup> and the fact that on 25th the king came in person to parliament and relieved York of his protectorate<sup>2</sup> have been taken as evidence of his recovery from a bout of insanity which no contemporary source yet discovered states as a definite fact. The most that it is safe to say on the available evidence is that Henry may have been ill but he was certainly neither insane nor completely incapable of transacting business.

There are two possible ways of testing the reliability of these statements. Firstly, to reconstruct, if possible, Henry's personal actions during this period and secondly, to scrutinize very closely the story given on the Parliament Roll. Unfortunately the classes of records which would enable us to trace Henry's personal actions at this time are scrappy and incomplete. An examination of those which have survived gives only a negative result. It shows that during the time of Henry's supposed illness the longest period for which there is no document bearing the royal sign manual was eighty-one days (12 December 1455 to 2 March 1456) as compared with a period of seventy-seven days earlier in 1455 (3 February to 21 April) at a time when no illness has ever been suspected.<sup>3</sup> Sign manuals, in fact, continue to appear

<sup>1</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 377. The wording of the letter implies that the king was of sound mind and refers neither to illness nor recovery, viz. "The Kyng, as it was tolde me by a grete man, wolde have hym [York] chief and princepall counceller, and soo to be called hise chef counceller and lieutenant as long as hit shuld lyke the Kyng . . .".

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 321-2.

<sup>3</sup> The classes of records examined for this purpose are Signet Warrants, Warrants under the Sign Manual, Council Warrants, Council and Privy Seal Warrants, Patent and Treaty Rolls. There are no Signet Warrants at all between 18 July 1454 and 26 July 1456, yet the survival of a signet letter of 27 September 1455, copied into *London Letter Book K*, pp. 370-1, shows that missives were being sent out under the signet at this time, as do entries on the Issues Rolls for payment for messengers taking out signet letters. The files of Council Warrants and Council and Privy Seal Warrants already show the incomplete condition which was to become so marked under the Yorkists. See J. R. Lander, "The Yorkist Council and Administration, 1461 to 1485", *E.H.R.*, lxxiii (1958), 31-5. For convenience the term "sign manual" has here been somewhat loosely interpreted to include documents which bear the king's initials and enrolments which bear the note of warranty *Per Regem*. Where both the original warrant and the enrolment survive they have been counted as one. The note of warranty *Per*

after the beginning of York's second protectorate. Such evidence must therefore be considered useless either way.

An examination of what happened in parliament is more revealing. It is doubtful if there was any enthusiasm for York's recent action amongst the peers. There is more likely to have been consternation and dismay. Although the prospect of renewed fines for non-attendance brought more ecclesiastical Lords to parliament than had been the case recently, attendance amongst the lay baronage once again appears to have been poor.<sup>1</sup> No one wished to accept responsibility for, or even to appear to condone, what was after all the treasonable action of rearing war against the king. The duke of Norfolk most probably stayed away from parliament.<sup>2</sup> Even the Neville family were not completely united, for Warwick's brother, Lord Fauconberg, though he no doubt sympathized with his father and his brother, had been in the Lancastrian camp at St. Albans.<sup>3</sup> When the inner circle of Yorkists were thus divided amongst themselves, it is unlikely that they would command wide support amongst other lords. It has also been plausibly suggested that York's relations, the Bouchiers (the archbishop, Viscount Bouchier, their brother, John, Lord Berners and their half-brother, Humphrey, duke of Buckingham) held a kind of middle place between the two main factions.<sup>4</sup> It would seem,

*Regem et Consilium* has been excluded as its use during Henry's first illness shows that it was employed without the king's participation.

In the period 3 February to 16 May, that is roughly the eleven weeks before the battle of St. Albans (in which period no suggestion of madness has ever been made), there are only six extant sign manuals. They begin again on 6 July (the day after the privy seal to Gilbert Kemer) and the number fluctuates month by month as follows: July 4; August 14; September 1; October 1; November 1; December 1; January 0; February 0; March 6; April 2; May 6; June 5; July 10. It is interesting that they disappear entirely at the point of Henry's supposed recovery and not during his supposed illness.

<sup>1</sup> Roskell, *op. cit.* pp. 193-4. Only seventeen out of thirty-six temporal lords below the rank of viscount appeared.

<sup>2</sup> Roskell, *op. cit.* 193-4; Armstrong, *op. cit.* 38, 51-52.

<sup>3</sup> Armstrong, *op. cit.* 27, 65.

<sup>4</sup> Roskell, "John Lord Wenlock of Someries", *Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, xxxviii (1958), 31. John, Lord Berners was summoned to the Lords for the first time in this parliament. Of Buckingham, *Paston Letters*, i. 335-6, report (how accurately is, of course, another matter)

therefore, that there was no large party even in the comparatively thin house of Lords which assembled at the end of June likely to endorse any extreme demands which York might feel disposed to make.

Nor can the Commons be regarded as exclusively partisan. Although the Yorkists used all the influence they could in the elections and in one county at least, Norfolk, their activities went beyond the limits which local opinion considered to be decent,<sup>1</sup> some who were elected were definitely uneasy at finding themselves in such a parliament.<sup>2</sup> Even the Speaker, Sir John Wenlock, was probably more affected to the Bourchiers than to York himself.<sup>3</sup>

During the first session of parliament the only important business transacted was the passing of an act absolving York, Warwick and Salisbury and their friends from all responsibility for "any thyng that happened" at St. Albans. The blame was thrown entirely on Somerset, Thomas Thorpe and William Joseph.<sup>4</sup> It was reported of this bill that "mony a man groged full sore nowe it is passed".<sup>5</sup> York rehabilitated the name of his old friend Humphrey of Gloucester by getting parliament to declare that he had died the king's true liegeman.<sup>6</sup> All the Lords present swore a new oath of allegiance.<sup>7</sup> On 31 July the session came to an end. It was prorogued so that the Commons might attend to the harvest and on account of an outbreak of plague in London and the suburbs. The chancellor stated that the business of the next session would be concerned "pro bono pacis".<sup>8</sup>

that after the battle of St. Albans he had agreed to work with the Yorkists "and ther to he and his brethern ben bounde by reconysaunce in notable summes to abyde the same". Also in January 1456 Buckingham and Berners both entered into recognizances for the duke of Exeter which seems to indicate a somewhat anti-Yorkist bias (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1454-1461*, p. 109).

<sup>1</sup> See the letter to the sheriff of Kent in *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vi. 246-7. For Norfolk, K. B. McFarlane, "Parliament and 'Bastard Feudalism'" in *T.R. Hist. S.*, 4th Ser., xxvi (1944), 58-9, 64; Roskell, "Lord Wenlock", *op. cit.*, pp. 30-1.

<sup>2</sup> "Sum men holde it right straunge to be in this Parlement, and me thenketh they be wyse men that soo doo" (*Paston Letters*, i. 340-1).

<sup>3</sup> Roskell, "Lord Wenlock", *op. cit.* pp. 31-2. <sup>4</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 280-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 346. <sup>6</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 335. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* v. 282-3. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* v. 283.

A Great Council met on 6 November, six days before parliament was due to reassemble.<sup>1</sup> On 10 November the council decided that York should be commissioned to open parliament as king's lieutenant, the king being unable for certain causes to do so himself.<sup>2</sup> It may well be that the king was indisposed or it is possible that York's friends (he himself was not present at the meeting when the decision was taken)<sup>3</sup> put forward the argument later used in parliament that vigorous action was needed to deal with the disturbed state of the country. Whatever the reason was, York's appointment proved to be the thin end of the wedge. When parliament assembled on 12 November the theme "pro bono pacis" was taken up at once. On Thursday, 13 November, William Burley led a deputation from the Commons to the Lords (where attendance was still thin)<sup>4</sup> asking that if for suche causes the Kyng *heraftre* myght not entende to the protection and defence of this lande, that it shuld like the Kyng by th'advis of his said Lieutenaunt [York] and the Lordes, to ordeigne and purvey suche an hable persone, as shuld mowe entende to the defence and protection of the said lande, and this to be doon as sone as it myght be, . . . to that entent that they myght sende to theym for whom they were comen to this present Parlement knowelege, who shuld be Protectour and Defensour of this lande, and to whom they shuld mowe have recours to sue for remedie of injuries and wronges done to theym.<sup>5</sup>

To support this demand they stressed the need for vigorous action to suppress disorder, especially riots caused by the quarrels between the earl of Devonshire and Lord Bonville in the west country.<sup>6</sup>

Two days later, on Saturday, 15 November, the deputation, again led by Burley, came before the Lords a second time and for a second time stressed the disorders in the west. This time they also suggested that if people brought their grievances to

<sup>1</sup> Roskell, *B.I.H.R.*, xxix. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vi. 261-2; *Rot. Parl.* v. 453-4. The rather vague phrasing reads "ob certas justas et rationabiles causas in persona nostra interesse non possumus".

<sup>3</sup> Out of thirty-eight people present at the meeting twenty-four were bishops or abbots and apart from the Neville (Salisbury, Warwick, Fauconberg) and Bouchier (Buckingham, Viscount Bouchier) groups the only others present were the earls of Arundel, Oxford and Worcester, Lords Richmond, Scrope, Fitzwaren, Grey and Stourton and the Prior of St. John's.

<sup>4</sup> On the evidence available Roskell (*B.I.H.R.*, xxix. 193-4) states that it was lower than in the previous session, particularly amongst the lesser lay lords.

<sup>5</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 284-5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* v. 285.



Henry himself for remedy "it shuld be overe grevous and tedious to his Highnesse, and that there must be a persone to whom the people of this lande may have recours to sue to for remedy of their injuries . . .".<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the deputation said, or at least implied, that the Commons would discuss no other business until the question of the protectorate had been settled.<sup>2</sup> After the Commons' deputation had departed the Lords discussed the matter amongst themselves, then gave their voices for York. The duke, after a formal denial of his fitness for the post, accepted with "certayn protestations" which, detailed as they were, must have been prepared in advance as they were apparently debated immediately.<sup>3</sup> Two days later, on Monday, 17 November, the Commons' deputation came to the Lords yet a third time to complain that they had not yet received an answer to their demands.<sup>4</sup> The same day the chancellor announced the king's assent to York's appointment as protector<sup>5</sup> and his patent was issued on 19 November<sup>6</sup>—exactly a week after parliament had reassembled.

Several points in the narrative on the Parliament Roll call for comment. In the first place the Commons never claimed that Henry was actually incapable. The most they could say (or insinuate) was that he might become incapable and for this reason and to relieve him from the strain and tedium of personal action at a difficult time the Lords should persuade him to appoint a protector. It may be, of course, that we are dealing with a story like that of the emperor's new clothes: that no one wished to mention the dreadful truth openly. This, however, seems unlikely in view of the fact that Henry's illness had been so openly discussed the previous year. In any case considerations of the kind put forward for relieving the king from unnecessary strain could have been suggested with equal plausibility at almost any time during his adult life. At this point also, expressions of anxiety for the king's health were joined with complaints of riots and disorders of unusual extent and violence in the west country, of which more will be said later. Secondly, someone was in a tremendous hurry to get things done. The decision that York

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 285.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 285.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 286-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 285-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* v. 286.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, p. 273.

should open the session as king's lieutenant had been taken at a Great Council as late as 10 November,<sup>1</sup> two days before parliament was due to re-assemble after its recess—and, as we have seen, the Commons had already formulated their demands, appointed a delegation and had expressed their very definite views to the Lords on the second day of the session. The speed with which the Commons acted must surely indicate some kind of previous discussion and planning for the first day of any session was normally taken up to a very considerable extent with formal business. It is unlikely that so important a matter could have been decided upon in twenty-four hours unless there had been some consultation beforehand. Moreover, on the fourth day, after making the conventional protest about his unfitness for the job, York was at once able to produce a list of articles setting out the conditions under which he was prepared to act.<sup>2</sup> Again, the Commons' deputation pressed the Lords outrageously in demanding three meetings with them in five days. The cumulative effect of these proceedings arouses at least suspicions of a well organized plan of campaign. These suspicions are in no way decreased by the fact that the deputation to the Lords was led not by the Speaker, Sir John Wenlock, but by William Burley. William Burley was no political innocent; he was one of the most experienced shire knights in this assembly. He had been one of the members for Shropshire in nineteen out of the twenty-five parliaments which had sat between 1417 and 1455 and had been speaker in two of them.<sup>3</sup> He had been one of the duke of York's feoffees since 1449-50<sup>4</sup> and was by this time a member of his council.<sup>5</sup>

Even when subjected to pressure of this kind the Lords hesitated. Although York's "protestations" about the conditions under which he was prepared to take on the protectorate were fairly moderate in tone they were not agreed without considerable discussion and only after a committee had been

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vi. 261-2; *Rot. Parl.* v. 453-4. The patent was issued on 11 November (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, p. 273).

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 286-7. On Saturday, 15 November.

<sup>3</sup> Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422* (1954), pp. 159-60.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Roskell, "Lord Wenlock", *op. cit.* p. 32.

appointed to clarify certain matters of detail with York.<sup>1</sup> The duke, in the end, was appointed Protector on the same limited terms as in 1454, except that he could now be dismissed only by the king in parliament instead of at the king's pleasure and his salary was increased. Once again he did not gain the powers of a regent. The rights of the Prince of Wales were safeguarded—he was to take over the protectorate when he became of age.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile all questions touching “the good and politike rule and governaunce” of the land were to be decided by the council, with the proviso that the king was to be informed of all matters concerning his person.<sup>3</sup>

At this point it is necessary to give in some detail an account of events in Devonshire which seem to have influenced to a greater extent than is usually realized the action taken in parliament. The principal reason for which the Commons had so insistently demanded the appointment of a protector was the prevalence of disorder, especially in the west country. For well over a year the earl of Devonshire and his sons had disturbed the peace in Exeter and the surrounding districts and in the last quarter of 1455 their disorderly conduct came to a violent and sanguinary climax.<sup>4</sup> The course of events can be pieced together from a petition put into parliament asking for justice on the Courtenays, indictments later taken before justices of oyer and terminer and from the unpublished records of the city of Exeter.<sup>5</sup> It should be borne in mind, however, that accusations made in petitions and indictments should be used with caution. Stories never lost anything in the telling in such sources and the numbers of men alleged to be involved in riots and violent gatherings were often very much exaggerated. The three main protagonists, the

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 287-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 289-90.

<sup>4</sup> It is said to have arisen out of conflicting claims to the office of steward of the duchy of Cornwall (Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422*, p. 154).

<sup>5</sup> This was done in great part by Mrs. G. H. Radford in “Nicholas Radford, 1385(?)–1455” and “The Fight at Clyst in 1455” in *Trans. of the Devonshire Association*, xxxv (1903), 251–78, and xlv (1912), 252–65, hereafter referred to as *Radford I* and *Radford II*. Apart from dealing with the fight at Clyst more fully *Radford II* also corrects mistakes in chronology in *Radford I*. As Mrs. Radford used only certain sections (without giving exact references) of Ancient Petitions, S.C. 8/138/6864 and of Ancient Indictments K.B. 9/16, references are here given to the originals.

earl of Devonshire, Sir Phillip Courtenay of Powderham and Lord Bonville were all related.<sup>1</sup> Taking our account of their quarrels no further back than 1450, the earl had then besieged Lord Bonville in Taunton Castle and there was "maxima perturbatio" in the west country which had been pacified by the intervention of the duke of York, Lord Moleyns, William Herbert and others.<sup>2</sup> The earl took part in York's armed demonstration at Dartford in 1452 and had been accused and acquitted of treason in the Lords in 1454.<sup>3</sup> In spite of this Devonshire ever afterwards seems to have been opposed to York. Now in April 1454 royal commissioners (of whom Lord Bonville was one) had arranged a meeting in Exeter with various merchants and others to negotiate contributions to a loan for the keeping of the sea and the defence of Calais. While the discussions were still in progress the earl's two elder sons, Sir Thomas and Henry, came into the city by night with, according to the indictment later laid against them, 400 men and more. The merchants were so alarmed that they went away and no loan could be collected. The Courtenays threatened to murder Bonville and the justices of the peace were so dismayed that they dared not hold the usual Easter sessions.<sup>4</sup>

The earl of Devonshire had apparently been absent whilst all this had occurred and it may have been done without his knowledge. He returned to the west after the battle of St. Albans where he had been wounded fighting on the king's side<sup>5</sup> and he was certainly responsible for the outbreak of violence which occurred late in 1455. The first move came when his sons again invaded Exeter. This time they bore down on the town with 600 men "and more" and prevented the holding of the autumn sessions of the peace as they had prevented those of Easter the

<sup>1</sup> Bonville had married c. 1426-7 as his second wife Elizabeth, widow of John, Lord Harrington and daughter of Edward Courtenay, 3rd earl of Devonshire. He was therefore uncle by marriage of Thomas, the 5th earl. One of Bonville's daughters was married to William, the son of Sir Phillip Courtenay of Powderham, who was the grandson of Hugh, 2nd earl of Devonshire (d. 1377).

<sup>2</sup> Stevenson, *Wars of the English*, ii. pt. ii. 770.

<sup>3</sup> Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii. 148, 171; *Rot. Parl.* v. 249.

<sup>4</sup> *Radford II*, 255-6; K.B. 9/16/76.

<sup>5</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 333.



previous year.<sup>1</sup> Then, on the night of 23 October, the earl's eldest son, Sir Thomas, rode with a large number of men to Uppcotes, the house of Nicholas Radford, the aged recorder of Exeter and the god-father of his own brother Henry. He obtained entry by a stratagem and after the place had been thoroughly ransacked (the intruders even toppled Radford's ailing wife out of bed and took the sheets from it for trussing up some of the loot) Sir Thomas told Radford that he must go with him to talk with his father the earl. The party was only a stone's throw from the house when Sir Thomas, after exchanging privy words with some of his followers, spurred his horse and rode away; whereupon several of his men turned on Radford and stabbed him to death.<sup>2</sup> A few days later they again appeared at Uppcotes, at Radford's funeral, desecrated the corpse and performed a farce of a coroner's inquest which absolved them of all blame for the crime.<sup>3</sup> A week after the murder, the earl, his two sons and Thomas Carrewe assembled a gang of more than a thousand men at Tiverton. On 3 November they marched to Exeter, seized the keys of the gates from the guards and set their own watch. They held the city gates in this way until the Monday before Christmas.<sup>4</sup> From Exeter they immediately went on to Powderham Castle and there menaced its owner, Sir Phillip Courtenay.<sup>5</sup>

Something of these outrages, possibly all, was known in London at the time the session of parliament opened on 12 November<sup>6</sup> and, as we have seen, the Commons' delegation made good use of their knowledge during their first two interviews with the Lords. They had not, as yet, heard of further violent actions committed in the west. On 11 November John Brymmore and others of the earl's men laid hold of Master Henry Weller, clerk, and so menaced and ill-treated him that for fear of his life he gave up a gold cipher and a gold chain which the earl had pledged with Edmund Lacy, the former bishop, for £100 and

<sup>1</sup> *Radford II*, 257; K.B. 9/16/76.

<sup>2</sup> *Radford I*, 264-7; S.C. 8/138/6864, K.B. 9/16/50.

<sup>3</sup> *Radford I*, 267-8; S.C. 8/138/6864, K.B. 9/16/50.

<sup>4</sup> *Radford I*, 269; *II*, 257; K.B. 9/16/66.

<sup>5</sup> *Radford II*, 257; K.B. 9/16/68.

<sup>6</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 350-1; *Rot. Parl.* v. 284 ff.

took from him 100 marks and a horse worth 10 marks.<sup>1</sup> On the following day, by the earl's orders, *fourteen*<sup>2</sup> of his men entered the cathedral and dragged Master John Morton, clerk, out of the choir where he was celebrating divine service, imprisoned and ill-treated him until he paid a "fine" of 10 marks, handed over a horse called a "hoby" and gave the earl an obligation in £40.<sup>3</sup> Heinous as these events were they were as nothing compared with the rumours which reached London just in time for the Commons' delegation to make use of them in their third interview with the Lords (17 November).<sup>4</sup> When the stories of the earl's entry into Exeter with 1,000 men at his back and of attacks on two clergymen by a handful of his followers appeared on the Parliament Roll they appeared as

Th'erle of Devonshire, accompanied with mony riotouse persones, as it is seide with viiiC horsmen, and iiiiiM. fotemen, and there have robbed the Churche of Excestre, and take the Chanons of the same Churche and put theym to fynauce. . . ." (i.e. to ransom).<sup>5</sup>

The Devonshire family continued on their violent and outrageous course in Exeter and the surrounding district. In addition to various minor robberies,<sup>6</sup> on 15 November 500 men plundered Lord Bonville's house at Clyft Sacheville, bore off goods to the value of 2,000 marks and £150 in money<sup>7</sup> and on the same day 1,000 men attacked Powderham Castle. The assault is said to have lasted from eight in the morning until four in the afternoon. It failed but the earl's men continued to blockade the castle for nearly a month.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, in Exeter the Courtenays were making vigorous attempts to gain possession of Nicholas Radford's movable property. On 22 November the earl told the Dean and Roger Keys, the Cathedral Treasurer, that unless they handed over the property which Radford had deposited with

<sup>1</sup> K.B. 9/16/66.

<sup>2</sup> They are actually named in the indictment.

<sup>3</sup> *Radford II*, 270; K.B. 9/16/66.

<sup>4</sup> Lest it should be thought that five days was too short a time for information to have reached London, the news of Radford's murder, committed on the night of 23 October, was known there at the latest by 28 October (*Paston Letters*, i. 350-1).

<sup>5</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 285.

<sup>6</sup> They robbed Exeter tradesmen, Thomas Hoyle, John Hayne and John King, looted the house of Sir William Bouchier and attacked one of his servants, at Bainton (K.B. 9/16/66/88, 89).

<sup>7</sup> K.B. 9/16/67.

<sup>8</sup> *Radford II*, 258; K.B. 9/16/65.

the cathedral clergy for safe-keeping during his lifetime he would break down the doors and carry it off. The clergy to avoid a worse evil ("in evitando magis malum"), as they afterwards said, handed over plate and goods worth £600 and £700 in cash.<sup>1</sup> Two days later the earl's men carried off plate, jewels and other goods worth £700 from John Kelly's house, formerly Radford's own.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Phillip Courtenay had sent a message to Lord Bonville for help but on 19 November the Courtenays beat off a reconnoitring party.<sup>3</sup> After this discomforture Lord Bonville prepared for another attempt. The earl was also trying to strengthen his position. On the same day that he terrified the Dean and Treasurer of the Cathedral into handing over Radford's goods he tried to browbeat the Mayor and common council of Exeter into holding the city against Bonville. The city fathers were made of sterner stuff than the Cathedral clergy and steadfastly refused to have anything to do with the quarrel. Later in the day, after their failure to terrify the Mayor into collaborating with them, the earl and the greater part of his men moved off to Powderham.<sup>4</sup> The Mayor and common council then made what arrangements they could for keeping the peace within the city.<sup>5</sup> Shortly afterwards the earl and his forces returned and for good measure sacked Lord Bonville's town house, looting his muniments and carrying off wine and household goods worth £20.<sup>6</sup> On 13 December news reached the city that Bonville was on his way to relieve Powderham and as the Mayor still refused to co-operate in resisting him the earl led his forces

into þe feld by Clist and there bykered and faughte with þe Lord Bonevyle and his people and put them to flight and so returned again that night into the City again with his people.<sup>7</sup>

Two days later they sacked Bonville's house at Shute (his third residence to suffer from their depredations) and took away

<sup>1</sup> *Radford I*, 269-70; K.B. 9/16/66.

<sup>2</sup> *Radford I*, 270; K.B. 9/16/66.

<sup>3</sup> *Radford II*, 258; K.B. 9/16/68.

<sup>4</sup> *Radford II*, 259-60, giving verbatim the entry on the Mayor's Court Roll, 34 Henry VI.

<sup>5</sup> *Radford II*, 260.

<sup>6</sup> K.B. 9/16/66.

<sup>7</sup> *Radford II*, 261, quoting the Mayor's Court Roll.

goods valued at £2,000.<sup>1</sup> The earl then remained in the city until 21 December when he led his men away to Tiverton.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, in London, York made his preparations to deal with the Devonshire family. On 5 December, after discussion in the council, privy seals were sent out to the earl of Arundel, nine other lords (including Lord Bonville),<sup>3</sup> fourteen knights and three esquires ordering them to make ready to assist the Protector in the west as soon as he should send them word.<sup>4</sup> Some days later eight sheriffs were ordered to be "intendant" on him and amongst the Council and Privy Seal documents there is the draft of a letter to the city authorities in Exeter telling them what was being done and urging them on no account to show favour to Devonshire and his men.<sup>5</sup> On 13th parliament was prorogued owing to the approach of Christmas and to allow the Protector to go to the west to restore order.<sup>6</sup> It is interesting that York prorogued parliament not as Protector but under a special commission approved by the council.<sup>7</sup> He sent Sir Robert Vere to Exeter with instructions and Vere seems to have made several journeys between Exeter and London at various times from mid-December to some time after Easter.<sup>8</sup> York himself, as things turned out, never went to Devonshire. One chronicler reports that after the fight at Clyst Lord Bonville "fled, and came to Grenewiche to the kyng, and the kyng sent him agayne to the lord protectour"<sup>9</sup> and another that York went as far west as Shaftesbury from where he sent for the earl of Devonshire, who submitted and after Christmas was imprisoned for a time in the

<sup>1</sup> K.B. 9/16/69.

<sup>2</sup> *Radford II*, 262.

<sup>3</sup> This is not so fantastic as it sounds. Bonville seems to have been drawn into the quarrels on this occasion because Sir Phillip Courtenay of Powderham had appealed to him as a justice of the peace (K.B. 9/16/68).

<sup>4</sup> Council and P.S., E. 28/87; *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vi. 267-70.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, p. 301; Council and P.S., E. 28/87, 16 December. Privy Seals had been sent to Devonshire, Bonville and others as early as 19 November (Issue Roll, E. 403/806, m. 4).

<sup>6</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 321.

<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vi. 274; *Rot. Parl.* v. 321.

<sup>8</sup> *Radford II*, 262. Vere was in Exeter by York's orders on 19 December. After Easter the Mayor and "his fellows" made him a present of 40s.

<sup>9</sup> Vitellius A XVI in Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 166.



Tower of London.<sup>1</sup> The crimes of the Courtenays were then dealt with by other means, before a commission of oyer and terminer<sup>2</sup> and in the King's Bench.<sup>3</sup> In the end they received a royal pardon for every offence which they had committed, even for the murder of Nicholas Radford,<sup>4</sup> and even though they had again tried to disperse the sessions of the peace at Easter 1456.<sup>5</sup>

The third session of the parliament of 1455-6 opened on 14 January. In a last effort to obtain a full attendance privy seals had been sent, a few days after the end of its second session in December, to sixty-five lords ordering them to attend under threat of renewed fines.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately there is no evidence of the actual attendance<sup>7</sup> but it seems most unlikely that it was larger than it had been during the second session. On 9 February John Bocking wrote to Sir John Fastolf that the duke of York and the earl of Warwick had come to parliament with a retinue of 300 armed men and "noo lord elles" had appeared<sup>8</sup>—a statement which, even if exaggerated, indicates that the Yorkists felt their position to be weak and that they had misjudged the situation to the extent of making it even weaker by a tactless demonstration of armed force which gave other peers a pretext for staying away. Bocking added that he had heard that the king was disposed to keep York as his "chief and princepall counsellor" though with diminished powers but the queen was against it.<sup>9</sup> Just over a fortnight later (25 February) the king came in person to parliament and relieved York of his protectorate.<sup>10</sup> Although deprived of his position he was not vindictively treated, for about

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson B 355 in Flenley, *op. cit.* pp. 109-10. Vitellius A XVI, *Supra*, p. 64, n. 9, also states that York "sent for" the earl of Devonshire and brought him to parliament in the Hilary Term but does not mention imprisonment.

<sup>2</sup> The indictments used above were made before justices of oyer and terminer appointed 16 March 1456 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, p. 304). The justices were paid the large sum of £213 6s. 8d. for their work (Issue Roll, E. 403/807, m. 7).

<sup>3</sup> They defaulted in the King's Bench and were pardoned this too (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, p. 358).

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, p. 358, 10 April 1457. See also the pardon to John Brymmore and others (*ibid.* p. 364).

<sup>5</sup> K.B. 9/16/64.

<sup>6</sup> *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vi. 279-82.

<sup>7</sup> Roskell, *B.I.H.R.*, xxix. 195.

<sup>8</sup> *Paston Letters*, i. 377.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* i. 377-8.

<sup>10</sup> *Rot. Parl.* v. 321-2.

a fortnight later he was granted assignments on the customs of Boston and Ipswich for £1,806 2s. 4d. owing to him, partly arrears of salary from his first protectorate and partly sums promised him for expenses in the present parliament, and in May he received a valuable grant of all the gold- and silver-bearing mines in Devon and Cornwall.<sup>1</sup>

From this evidence some tentative conclusions may be drawn. It is clear enough that although Henry's health was poor (it was, after all, never anything but poor during the whole of his adult life) he suffered no second breakdown during the later part of 1455 comparable to his complete mental and physical collapse of 1453 to 1455. He may certainly have been indisposed in the early part of November : unwell enough for a time to give York the opportunity for his first step to power, his commission to open parliament, but there is no conclusive evidence that he was incapable of transacting business even for a short period. No chronicler mentions sickness at this time and if Henry was incapable his generally well-informed friend, Abbot Whethamstede, was unaware of it. Even the deputation from the Commons, anxious as they were for York to be appointed Protector, were never able to allege that Henry was incapable. At the most they implied that he might become so. They had to fall back on a demand to the Lords to advise the king to appoint a protector because special measures were needed for the suppression of disorder, especially in the west country. As we have seen, York's protectorate was rushed through with almost unseemly haste at the very beginning of a session of parliament by a section of the Commons led by one of York's close associates. In order to get what they wanted, the delegation which Burley led gave the Lords (whether deliberately or not<sup>2</sup>) a very much exaggerated account of recent events in Exeter which they had seized upon the moment the rumour of them reached Westminster. By the time parliament re-assembled in January

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, pp. 278, 291.

<sup>2</sup> It may not have been deliberate. For the spread of news and the prevalence of wild rumours in the fifteenth century see C. A. J. Armstrong, "Some Examples of the Distribution and Speed of News in England At The Time of the Wars of the Roses" in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt and others (1948), pp. 429-54.

these events were seen in a truer perspective. Lord Bonville had come to Greenwich and the earl of Devonshire was a prisoner—and all this without York having set foot in Exeter. Many men, probably never well disposed to York's demands in the first place, may well have felt (though this can only be conjectural) that York two months before had most unscrupulously forced the issue. At all events Henry and his advisers correctly judged that parliament would now agree to revoke York's patent and agree that justice should be done on the malefactors of the west by the more normal method of proceedings before justices of oyer and terminer and in the King's Bench.<sup>1</sup>

If this interpretation of events is correct, what could have been York's motives in thus attempting to force the issue of the protectorate? We possess a good deal of comparatively insignificant detail about his life and about the lives of his friends but nothing which gives us any certain insight into their motives during the successive political crises of the fourteen-fifties. So once again any attribution of motive can only be conjectural. Although he was immensely rich York may well have been in debt<sup>2</sup> and wished

<sup>1</sup> At some time during the parliament the Commons petitioned that both the earl of Devonshire and Lord Bonville should be imprisoned without bail or mainprise until a commission of oyer and terminer had been appointed and had completed its work. The petition was refused (*Rot. Parl.* v. 332). Another petition presented by John Radford, Nicholas Radford's cousin and executor, assented to by the Commons and granted by the king, asked for the appointment of commissioners of oyer and terminer. The petition was not enrolled on the Parliament Roll. The original in the P.R.O., S.C. 8/138/6864, is undated. Mrs. Radford, however, discovered a copy amongst the duke of Northumberland's MSS., together with a mandate to the justices issued as a result of it, dated 23 January 1456 (*Radford I*, pp. 264-8, 278, where part of the petition and the instructions are printed).

<sup>2</sup> York had stated in parliament in 1454 that non-payment of wages and expenses for his work in Ireland "drowe and compelled me . . . to celle a grete substance of my lyvelood, to leye in plege all my grete Jowellys, and the most partie of my Plate not yit raquited, and therfor like to be loost and forfeited; and overe that, to endaungere me to all my Frendes, by chevisance of good of thaire love . . ." (*Rot. Parl.* v. 255). Although this statement is certainly exaggerated, York did sell some land in the fourteen-fifties. At some time he sold the manors of Cressage, co. Salop and Areley, co. Staffs. to William Burley (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1468-1476*, p. 165). In December 1452 he had sold jewels to Sir John Fastolf, Fastolf undertaking to allow him to redeem them for £437 before 24 June 1453 (*Paston Letters*, i. 249). They were still unredeemed when York was killed in 1460 (*Paston Letters*, ii. 33-5; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-1467*, p. 96).

to profit from royal grants which he might obtain if he could influence the king. He may even (he seems to have been a very suspicious man) have regarded the protectorate as essential to self-preservation.<sup>1</sup> Knowing the good-natured weakness which always made Henry VI prone to trust completely those in power about him at the moment, he possibly thought that he could only be secure from attack if he gained complete control over the king. It may be that even after the birth of a Lancastrian heir, Prince Edward, he still thought of himself as a man with a mission—to preserve his inheritance to the throne. After all, a generation later his son, Richard, converted a protectorate into a royal title.<sup>2</sup> In February 1453 an Ipswich jury had indicted Sir William Oldhall, who had been York's chamberlain since 1440,<sup>3</sup> William Assheton, Charles and Otwell Nowell<sup>4</sup> and others of conspiring as early as 1450 to depose the king and put the duke of York on the throne.<sup>5</sup> If these accusations were true (the possibility cannot be ruled out that they were part of an unscrupulous political attack by the duke of Somerset and his allies)<sup>6</sup> the possibility of deposing the king had been in the minds

<sup>1</sup> There is some evidence, though it is far from conclusive, that York's rivals had unduly interfered with his tenants and associates. See *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-1461*, pp. 143-4; Flenley, *op. cit.* p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> The suggestion is Professor Roskell's (*B.I.H.R.*, xxix. 192).

<sup>3</sup> C. E. Johnston, "Sir William Oldhall", *E.H.R.*, xxv (1910), 716.

<sup>4</sup> The Nowells were servants of the duke of Norfolk (J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439 to 1509, Biographies* (1936), p. 634).

<sup>5</sup> K.B. 9/118/30. I am indebted to Mr. R. Virgoe for this reference. The indictment alleges that they realized that they could not depose the king while he remained powerful with his lords about him, that on 6 March 1450 at Bury St. Edmunds they plotted the death and destruction of the king and the laws and put certain writings and ballads on mens' doors and windows attacking the duke of Suffolk and his associates, that they sent letters to divers counties, especially Kent and Sussex, urging a rising against the king, on account of which Suffolk was murdered. On 12 April, again at Bury, they incited men to levy war against the king, and on 26 May they sent letters to the men of Kent to aid the duke of York, then in Ireland, and openly counselled the duke to depose the king, and on 10 June they assembled men at Bergolt and elsewhere to levy war on the king.

<sup>6</sup> This was the view taken by Mr. C. E. Johnston who describes the various actions taken against York (*E.H.R.*, *op. cit.* pp. 716-19 and the references there given). On the other hand the details given in the indictment (which Mr. Johnston did not use) are too circumstantial to be lightly dismissed. The indictment gives fuller details of the alleged treasons than any other source.



of York's friends, if not of York himself, for several years. By the autumn of 1455, however, events had shown that there would be little support for any such plan in other quarters.

Polydore Vergil was the first writer to attempt an analysis of York's motives. Polydore alleged that after consultation with the Nevilles and others

he [York] procured himselfe to be made protector of the realme ; Richard Nevill, the father, lord chauncellor of Englande ; and Richard Nevell, the sonne, capitaine of Calis ;<sup>1</sup> whereby the government of the realme might rest in him, and Richard lord chancellor ; thother Richard might have charge of the warres ; and so Henry might be king in name and not in deede, whom they thought best to forbear at that time, least otherwise they might stirre up the commonaltie against them, who loved, honoured and obeyed him wonderfully for the holynes of his life.<sup>2</sup>

In this accusation that Richard of York intended to be king in deed, relegating Henry to the position of *roi fainéant*, all the Tudor chroniclers and some seventeenth-century writers followed Polydore Vergil.<sup>3</sup> In Hall's words they regarded the protectorate as a "deuise . . . pollitiquely inuented".<sup>4</sup> Our understanding of the fifteenth century has suffered much in the past from an uncritical use of narratives written in the sixteenth. In this case, however, the opinions of Polydore Vergil and those who followed him may not after all have been wide of the mark, although we may say that it was more probably fear of the nobility than fear of the common people that deterred York. Accusations of treason were in the air, three demonstrations of armed force had failed to secure York a position of power and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the second protectorate was yet another attempt to secure permanent control and perhaps even future possession of the crown.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. G. L. Harriss has shown the importance which both York and his opponents attached to the control of Calais and that its possession was the one clear gain which he obtained from his second protectorate (G. L. Harriss, "The Struggle for Calais: An Aspect of the Rivalry Between Lancaster and York", *E.H.R.*, lxxv (1960), 30-5).

<sup>2</sup> *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History*, ed. Sir H. Ellis (Camden Soc., 1844), p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Hall's *Chronicle* (1809), p. 233 ; Grafton's *Chronicle* (1809), i. 654 ; Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1807-8), iii. 242 ; Stow, *Annales* (1631), p. 400 ; White Kennett, *op. cit.* p. 413. A somewhat modified version appears as late as Lingard, *op. cit.* p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Hall, *supra*, n. 2.

## “TRAGICAL-COMICAL-HISTORICAL-PASTORAL”: ELIZABETHAN DRAMATIC NOMENCLATURE <sup>1</sup>

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OBVIOUSLY, the subject which I propose to discuss takes its cue from Polonius' famous catalogue when he introduces “the best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral”. It is equally obvious that this catalogue of plays is intended to be a joke, and it may well be thought that no profit possibly could derive from following the aged counsellor's meandering track and from seriously considering the names given to Elizabethan dramas.

Such a judgement of the choice of theme unquestionably appears to have validity, and as a consequence my first task must be to offer a defence of the topic in itself; and, if the defence is to have any weight, it must be prefaced by some general considerations.

Among literary forms, the drama is peculiar in its nomenclature. For the most part, poems are presented to us without any distinguishing generic labels, and many novels—which are, of course, the nearest relatives of plays—are published merely with their own specific titles. Throughout the whole history of the theatre, on the other hand, there has been a steady trend towards the indication of dramatic categories, and this trend, even now when newer forms have been substituted for the old, has by no means lost its force; tragedy, comedy, farce still retain their time-honoured significance. Apart from this salient fact, there is another. Within the realm of non-dramatic poetry, if and when generic descriptions are employed, these tend to refer rather to the external shape of the verse than to the attitude of the

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the Library series of public lectures.

poet towards his subject-matter. No doubt we can speak of an "epic" approach or spirit; no doubt a "dirge" can be nothing save a song of lament; but most of these terms, such as "sonnet", are concerned with the outward lineaments rather than with the inner qualities. A sonnet is a poem of fourteen decasyllabic lines riming in one of half-a-dozen established ways; any particular sonnet may be light or monumental, serious or gay, a song of praise or a song of grief. We recognize a sonnet by its structural shape, not by its particular tone.

Something else reveals itself when we turn to prose fiction. Here the generic terms generally apply to the nature of the subject-matter rather than to the manner in which this subject-matter is dealt with. We speak familiarly of an historical, a domestic, a detective novel, indicating that the first deals with life in a past age, the second with ordinary situations and characters, the third with crime and its exposure. No attempt is made here to suggest the attitudes of the authors towards their themes; the terms employed remain bound and restricted by the nature of the contents of the works themselves.

Most of the terms applied to drama are of a completely different kind. True, we find in the Elizabethan period such a description as "history", which does not in any respect point to the approach which has been taken towards the historical material itself; and in the modern period "detective play" parallels the "detective story" of prose fiction. Usually, however, the theatrical terminology possesses an import of its own. From ancient Athens down to the present day, "tragedy" and "comedy" enshrine meanings which have little or nothing to do either with the outward forms of the works included in these categories or with the nature of their subject-matter. During the Renaissance, numerous critics, following the lines laid down by earlier grammarians, sought to define these two terms by insisting that tragedy dealt with royal courts and comedy with humbler characters, that the one group of plays was concerned with a movement from confusion to happy solution and the other from good fortune to dismal disaster. We, however, recognize that such an interpretation is false. No doubt the greater tragedies have introduced princes as their heroes and the comedies most

familiar to us have delighted in characters of less exalted position. Certainly comedy leads to a happy ending and tragedy closes with death. But essentially the quality of a tragedy rests in its author's metaphysical attitude towards the universe, and comedy expresses a mood less exalted and more social, under which its characters and situations are viewed. There are comedies with princely persons and tragedies of humble life.

All of this is, of course, so well-known as to require no elaboration. What assumes importance here is the fact that terms of these kinds should seem so appropriate to the theatre. It is not merely that ancient classical terms have been carried on traditionally through the ages; even when generic names unthought of by the Greeks find their way onto the stage they are generally either expressive of an attitude or, if originally they sprang from another source, are modified in time so that they come to express an attitude. One example will serve. When the word "melodrama" crept into the English theatre about the beginning of the nineteenth century, it meant simply a play with music, and in particular it designated a play in three acts, with some kind of instrumental accompaniment and with a number of songs. In so far, the term was conditioned by external form alone. Soon, however, it assumed another significance established upon an utterly different foundation. When we speak of "melodrama" today there is absolutely no thought of musical accompaniment in our minds or of any external shape. A melodramatic speech, character or situation is one in which the author or the actor has taken a special attitude towards the subject-matter of his choice—and thus the designation has come to have an inner meaning of the same sort as those associated with "comedy" and "tragedy".

For this peculiar quality inherent in so many dramatic terms an explanation can readily be found. The drama, because of the conditions of its art, ideally demands a clarity, perhaps even a conventionality, of approach. In our own times, realism has descended drearily upon the playhouse, but realism is essentially alien to the true spirit of the stage. What we get from the greatest plays is not a photographic, phonographic record of ordinary life, but an image of ordinary life viewed, as it were, through some magical glass interposed by the playwright



between ourselves and the so-called real world—a glass which may be dark and sombre, or light-coloured and gay, relatively plain or so polished and curved as to contort what is seen through it. Thus all great plays, whatever variety may be introduced into their scenes, exhibit a vigorously controlled consistency. Within the extended scope of a long novel we do not necessarily demand consistency of quite the same kind ; but in the theatre's two hours' traffic, if a play is to make a deep imaginative appeal, consistency in approach becomes essential. *Twelfth Night* will always give joy to its audiences because the one magical glass remains steady between us and the characters from our first glimpse of them in the Duke's affectedly melancholic court on to the Clown's exquisite final song with its haunting refrain of " hey, ho, the wind and the rain ". *All's Well that Ends Well* will never appeal in the same way. It has some interesting characters ; its poetic melodies are often delicate, sometimes profound ; hardly any of Shakespeare's plays is more skilfully constructed : but it has the one basic fault—the approach lacks surety and we move from scene to scene, now with one glass colouring its persons, now with another. The stage-history of *Twelfth Night* is long and distinguished ; *All's Well* has never been a favourite and even the most fervent Shakespearians acknowledge its weakness.

Here, then, seems to be the explanation for the continued employment in the theatre of a limited number of generic terms, corresponding to a limited number of approaches. In effect, Shakespeare, who may never have known more of Sophocles than his mere name, has viewed his characters in *Hamlet* in the same light as that which illumined for his Athenian predecessor the characters in *Œdipus*. At the same time, when we survey the history of the stage, we realize that two almost contradictory forces here have ever been at work. From start to finish fundamental approaches such as " tragedy " and " comedy " have held sway ; but, quite understandably, both audiences and playwrights have been at times impelled by the desire for novelty, while changing social conditions and altering philosophies have imposed fresh demands. Thus, alongside what we may call the standard forms, new forms have taken shape. Some of these consist in no more than an attempt to discover formulas for

combining in single plays diverse elements characteristic of the standard forms. Of such combinations "tragicomedy" may be taken as a prime example. Plautus will take the heroic persons associated with tragedy and in *Amphitryon* present them comically; Shakespeare, more daringly, will seek to impose between audience and characters a glass of a new colour which may embrace and render delightful both laughter and death in *The Winter's Tale*. And, as these new forms develop, new generic names tend to be invented for them: tragicomedy clearly is but the earliest in a lengthy range, varying as age succeeded age. If we were to look simply at the designations used for dramas in the English theatre from the sixteenth century on to our own times, we should be able to form by no means an erroneous picture of the historical development of our stage, and, were we confronted by some such designations without having their dates attached, we should not go far astray if we were to attempt to assign them to their proper periods. The terms which flood in upon us—farce, ballad opera, burletta, comedietta, extravaganza, even "operatic, romantic, magical, semi-burlesque, terpsichorean burletta"—which beats Polonius hollow—all have intimate things to tell us concerning the playhouse of the past.

This clearly leads us back to Polonius' catalogue. My own first interest in this catalogue originated from a desire to determine whether here—as in the related passage concerning the boy players—Shakespeare was being strictly topical. Was he actually referring to terms already used by his fellow-playwrights, or was he, for the sake of a jest, permitting his imagination to range? If this was the start of the enquiry, however, I soon realized that to explore this topic thoroughly demanded the putting of many other questions, one so leading into another that what seemed at first a query capable of almost immediate answer became so complex that it would truly demand the scope of a whole book were it to be dealt with adequately. On this occasion, I can do no more than select a few matters of interest, designed to illustrate the varied kinds of enquiries involved in the investigation of the theme as a whole.

The original simple question can in part be easily answered, even though the answer itself must assume a more complicated form than the query from which it springs. First, it may be said with assurance that for one term at least, the lengthy "tragical-comical-historical-pastoral", there is no known basis in actuality. At the same time, we must remember both that of the thousands of plays presented between 1500 and 1640 only a sorry remnant has come down to us, and that, if Shakespeare invented this combination, he did so on a fairly sure foundation. A second observation is that Polonius did not make use of all he might have included: "play" is not here, or "moral", or "interlude", or "chronicle": there is no mention of "tragicomic". Thirdly, a strange fact emerges: in a list which clearly has ironic implication, it is, ironically, somewhat surprising to discover that one of Polonius' terms, "tragical-historical", was apparently introduced for the first time to describe the very drama in which this character plays his part. *Hamlet* was printed both in 1603 and in 1604 as *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet*, and no earlier dramatic work known to us had used that appellation.

Was Shakespeare responsible? True, the play of *Hamlet* had been entered before publication in the Stationers' Register as "The Revenge of Hamlet", and it might be thought that this was the drama's original designation. Yet it is difficult to believe that the publisher of the bad quarto of 1603 invented the heading of "tragical history", which, in any case, was retained in the good quarto of 1604. More probably, the employment of "tragical history" had been taken over into the printed title-page from the description given to the play by the actors themselves, and, if so, we may indeed have reason for supposing that it was inspired by the author. We must, certainly, take into account that a few months later Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* was printed as *The Tragicall History of D. Faustus*, but it seems most probable that this form of wording resulted merely from a copying of that used for the recently popular *Hamlet*. While, of course, we have always to bear in mind that much of the evidence relating to Elizabethan drama has been lost, we have good reason to presume that the same hand and mind invented "tragical history" as a generic term and jokingly introduced "tragical-historical" into Polonius' catalogue.

A whole series of related queries thus emerge ; and, whatever our conclusion concerning the persons—authors or printers—responsible for the descriptive terms, obviously an examination of these terms will serve to cast light on the way contemporaries regarded the works in question by revealing what they felt to be implied in the employment both of such ancient basic designations as “tragedy” and “comedy” and of such more recently coined descriptions as “tragical history”. Furthermore, we begin to realize that a scrutiny of title-pages, which provide the basic material for the enquiry, will bring us other material of interest ranging considerably beyond the original object of our search.

First of all, a brief glance may be cast on one or two relevant matters concerned with pre-Shakespearian drama. What was the earliest play to be published in London we cannot tell, but at least we can be assured that *Everyman* and *Fulgens and Lucrece*, printed about 1515, were among the very first. Each of these calls attention to interesting aspects of the general question.

*Everyman* appears as a “moral play”. Although nowadays we speak familiarly of the morals and moralities we must remember that in the whole run of drama up to 1642 only one other piece, *The pleasant and stately morall of the Three Lordes and Three Ladies of London* (1590), utilizes this term. Our common employment of the word “morality” finds practically no reflection in contemporary sources and seems to have crept into critical parlance only during the eighteenth century. Occasionally we encounter the term “moral” outside of printed texts, as in Dekker’s “the old Moralls at Maningtree”, but so infrequently as to convince us that it did not form part of current stage speech.

In *Everyman*, however, “moral” is combined with “play”, and here we encounter a series of facts of undoubted interest. “Play” of course, is one of the oldest English names for a theatrical performance or a dramatic composition and it has so continued on to modern times. In view of this, it is somewhat surprising to discover that, during the period with which we are at the moment concerned, 1500 to the eighties of the century, its use on title-pages is excessively rare. Apart from a “newe playe for to be played in Maye games” which is attached to *A mery geste of Robyn Hooode* (1560), it appears on the title-pages of



only five printed dramas—*A mery play betwene Johan Johan the husbande Tyb his wyfe & syr Jhān the preest* (p1533), *A mery playe betwene the pardoner and the frere* (1533), *The play of the wether* (1533), *A play of loue* (1534) and *The playe called the foure PP* (p1544). The first four of these were printed by William Rastell, and of course it is possible that he was responsible for the run in the use of the word “play”; but if, as seems probable, he also published *Nature* (c. 1530-4), he described that work by the much commoner term “interlude”, and, unless the 1544 edition was a reprinting from a now lost original, it was another printer, William Middleton, from whom came the use of “play” for *The Four PP*. All five dramas are stylistically alike, and one may well conjecture that the choice of the descriptive word points to common authorship. In a sense, we have here, in the use of the descriptive term “play”, still another pointer towards the assumption that one dramatist, John Heywood, was responsible for all of them. And, if so, there is the suggestion that perhaps for some Elizabethan dramas at least the generic terms emanated not from the printing-house but from the dramatist’s study.

In view of the unique application of the word “play” to these five dramas, it is rather ironic that Collier should have tried to apply to them specifically the term “interlude”, and that ever since Collier’s time this quintet has been commonly called “Heywood’s interludes”.

The word “interlude” itself was employed in the second among the earliest plays printed in England—*Fulgens and Lucrece*, which appeared as “a godely interlude”—to be interpreted as “goodly” rather than as “godly”. Thus is introduced to the library a theatrical definition of more than common interest, one which deserves some attention. Whence it came we cannot tell. Towards the beginning of the fourteenth century we have an *Interludium de clerico et puella*, a reference to “enterludez” in the poem *Sir Gawayn* and an allusion to “entyrludes”, associated with “somer games” in a treatise by Robert Manning of Brunne; but a puzzling fact is that, despite the fact that in form it suggests a French source, it remained, both then and later, a word known only in England. Despite unquestioned

associations between the French drama and the English during these years, not a trace of it can be found on the other side of the Channel.

Obviously it is made up from a combination of *ludus*, "a play", and *inter*, "between", but exactly what this combination signified remains still a matter of debate. Into the debate itself we have no time to enter now, although one or two comments may be made.

Unfortunately, the excellent *Oxford English Dictionary* here lets us down badly when it rather strangely defines the word as "a dramatic or mimic representation, usually of a light or humorous character, such as was commonly introduced between the acts of the long mystery-plays or moralities". Even although this explanation has been discredited, the general authority of the *Dictionary* is so great as to demand a declaration that for such interpretation there exists hardly any real evidence. The solitary record of anything approaching any practice of this kind in the medieval drama is the appearance in the midst of a French miracle-play, *La vie monseigneur saint Fiacre*, of a stage-direction, "Cy est interposé une Farse", followed by a comic knock-about dramatic sketch running to 278 verses. It might, of course, be argued (i) that the French word "farce" is regularly used to describe plays which in England are called "interludes", (ii) that this French word bears the primal sense of something added to a main dish, and (iii) that this example proves that short dramatic pieces could be added to, or incorporated into, longer theatrical works. But it indeed seems hazardous to base any general conclusions on a single instance and positively dangerous to imply English practice from this one French example. The only other slight pointer in the same direction is the fact that, when George Bannatyne made a transcript of *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaits* in 1552, he selected only the "Interludis": "I omittit", he says, the "principall Mater and writtin only Sertane mirry Interludis thair of".

In approaching the term, perhaps we will do best to distinguish between an original significance and the significance which later came to be attached to it. So far as the first is concerned, E. K. Chambers may be right in assuming that its first sense was

of a play between characters ; if so, Heywood's *Play between the Pardoner and the Friar* would give an exact translation of the word. On the other hand, all the evidence seems to point to the conclusion that in the sixteenth century the word was applied, specifically, to plays given by the then small bands of professional entertainers, in the midst of banquets and entertainments, particularly those of Christmas-tide. Thus, "interludes" formed just such a mixed bag of scripts as those carried round by the actors who are introduced into the play of *Sir Thomas More* and are invited by More himself to present a brief playlet in the midst of a banquet. There is no time now to enter into the available evidence as a whole, but attention may be drawn to the peculiar significance of an early sixteenth-century lawsuit involving John Rastell and his stage costumes. The significant fact in this lawsuit is that for the loan of these costumes for "stage-plays" in summer the receipts were "sumtyme xld, sometyme ijs.", while for the loan of the same costumes for "interludes" in winter the receipts were eightpence "every tyme". The variation in the amounts received at the former and the fixed sum at the latter clearly is best explained by presuming (1) that the costumes were paid for by a proportion of the actors' total takings, and (2) that stage plays were those given before a general public (hence with varying total receipts) while interludes were those presented by command at noble mansions (and hence with an established fixed fee). At this period, the actors would have been most unlikely to have had two completely different repertoires ; hence "stage-plays" and "interludes" may be equated, and the latter may thus be defined as "dramatic pieces suited for professional performance at festivities in noblemen's mansions".

It may, of course, be freely admitted that at times "interlude", like the word "ludus" itself, might bear merely the significance of "game" or "sport". It may also be admitted that at other times it was applied in a general sense to any kind of dramatic entertainment. Other theatrical terms follow such a pattern ; "comedy" is something specific, but in several continental countries it still may legitimately be used to refer even to a tragedy ; when we speak of a "drama" we may mean simply

a play or we may be thinking of a special kind of play. Thus, any general use of "interlude" is by no means exceptional, nor does it take away from the special professional connotation.

Interpreting the term in this way, we understand why, when the learned John Bale sought by dramatic means to popularize his religious and moral concepts, although he called his *Chief Promises of God* by the academic term "tragedye", he was careful to add to this the familiar professional word "interlude", and similarly he associated "interlude" with "comedy" in his *Temptation of Our Lord and Father Jesus Christ*.<sup>1</sup>

Now, we may turn to something which I at least find fascinating and perhaps rather startling. This we may approach by observing that out of some sixty-four plays printed up to 1576 well over half bear the designation "interlude". When we proceed beyond 1576 we find that not a single play was so described by its publisher. The fact is there, firm, incontrovertible, and an explanation is demanded. For myself, I cannot believe that this fact is not related to another—the establishment of the first permanent English playhouse, "The Theatre", in 1576. In surveying the history of the stage in general it has always seemed to me that close connections can be found between upward surges of dramatic productivity and new theatre forms; and, if the conjecture here is justified, we have in 1576 perhaps the most notable example of such a development. Suddenly, by 1576, the actors find that no longer have they to rely upon occasional performances in noblemen's mansions as the most important source of their incomes; no longer are the companies restricted to three men and a boy; the stage's orientation is turned to a growing general public; new forms of plays are introduced—and the term "interlude" vanishes from the technical vocabulary. The clerk of the Stationers' Company for some years sporadically continues to use the word in the sense of "dramatic piece", but this, it appears, is due merely to established habit and ancient custom; the actors and dramatists retain its use only to describe crude, short pieces in a style outworn, things associated with coarse and exaggerated methods of

<sup>1</sup> It may, however, be noted that when Bale's *Three Laws* was printed about 1547 it was described simply as a "comedy"; when the play was reprinted in 1562, it appeared as a "comedy or interlude."



interpretation. The "Pyramus and Thisbe" playlet is thus properly an "interlude", both because it was intended for presentation in the midst of wedding festivities and because the amateur actors were absurdly aping the crude style of an earlier generation of professionals. And when in *King Lear* Goneril ejaculates "An interlude!" she clearly means that what has just been said is like a "stagey" speech from an out-of-fashion play.

Much more might be said concerning the employment of this word, but at the moment all that may be done is to underline the fact that the simple enquiry originated by a consideration of Polonius' lines has led us to see the erection of "The Theatre" in 1576 not merely as just one other milestone in the progress of the English stage, but as a mighty landmark. Possibly no more surprising example than this can be found of the influence of the playhouse upon dramatic forms.

Discussion of "interlude" had thus demonstrated one aspect of interest and value in the exploration of the generic descriptions attached to plays during the Elizabethan period. "Tragical history" suggested another aspect, while the use of "play" in connection with Heywood's writings propounded a third.

Within the sixty-odd years from 1515 to 1576 divers other terms slowly developed, and much can be learned from tracing the employment of such words as, for instance, "comedy" and "tragedy" and in noting their variations in meaning, until towards the close of the century they become established as part of the theatre's technical vocabulary. Both "tragedy" and "comedy" start, quite naturally, out of a classical environment; they belong to the ancient world of Seneca and Terence. Then the word "comedy", with memories of its medieval sense, is extended to describe works in which the stories are brought to fortunate conclusions, or else is drawn into the circle of "interlude" and so used to mean simply "any piece of writing suitable for theatrical performance". Only gradually does it come to designate a play designed to arouse merriment and laughter. Indeed such a sense was not formally attached to it until the seventies of the century when some publishers demonstrated

in their title-pages that they could count on a new awareness of its meaning among the reading public. *The Tide Tarrieth No Man* can be announced as "a moste pleasant and merry commody, right pythie and full of delight"; *Common Conditions* as "an excellent and pleasant comedie"; *Gammer Gurton's Needle* as "a ryght pithy, pleasaunt and merie comedie". For readers and spectators of the sixties and seventies "pleasant, merry, pithy, full of delight" were the qualities associated with the newly revived dramatic term. Within a few years, however, after the establishment of "The Theatre" in 1576, we can see the term "comedy" taking on fresh connotations. While it still continues to be employed at times simply in the sense of "a dramatic work", its specific application to a special category of drama becomes more formalized, and an emphasis begins to be laid, not upon mere merriment, but, as *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* (1589) expresses it, upon the "manye fine Conceites with great delight" introduced into its action and dialogue. Perhaps note ought to be taken here of a new descriptive epithet which comes into fashion at this time, the word "excellent". In its use we receive the impression that in men's minds there was an association between it and the presence of "conceits"; and, although the evidence is not sufficient to warrant a definite conclusion, we may sense an awareness of a connection between these new adjectives and a new style in drama. If we may judge from the running titles, "excellent" was added to the title-page of *Alexander, Campaspe and Diogenes*; at first *The Three Ladies of London*, printed in 1584 as "right excellent", was merely "pithie and pleasaunt"; while "excellently discoursed" and "fine conceited" were added to the title-page of *Fedele and Fortunio*.

"Tragedy" was rather slower in reaching a similar established position. Only eleven examples of its use are to be traced in title-pages before 1576, and of these, seven appear in translations of Seneca's dramas. Nor are any defining epithets attached to the word with the single exception, in 1569, of "lamentable" in the title-page of *Cambyses*—which is, however, "a lamentable tragedy mixed ful of pleasant mirth", reminding us that we are on the threshold of that "tragical comedy" which brings us well

within the sphere of Polonius' compound categories. After 1576 the word "tragedy" begins to be employed more frequently and the "lamentable" of *Cambyzes* tends most commonly to be associated with the adjective "true". In combination, tragedy "lamentable and true" assumes a definite meaning both for audiences and for authors, the stress being laid on dismal events, generally but by no means always affecting prominent individuals, which had or were thought to have a basis in reality. What appears to possess even greater significance is the fact that for men at the close of the sixteenth century this word "tragedy" was firmly and almost exclusively connected with death by murder. A recent study attempts to argue that the core of Elizabethan tragedy lies in the theme of ambition, leading to dramatic essays in the concept of power, but this theme seems to be rather incidental than central for the playwrights and their audiences. Another recent study comes nearer to the truth. Analysing Shakespeare's usage of the words "tragedy" and "tragical", J. V. Cunningham asserts that

The tragic fact is death. Even the most natural death has in it a radical violence, for it is a transition from this life to something by definition quite otherwise; and, however much it may be expected, it is in its moment of incidence sudden, for it comes as a thief in the night, you know not the day nor the hour. Hence the characteristics of suddenness and violence which are attached to death in tragedy may be viewed as only artistic heightenings of the essential character of death.

This certainly comes nearer to the truth, yet it is not the whole truth for the Elizabethans. No doubt the dramatists of this time, when they turned to tragedy, were intent on the contrast between life and death, and no doubt all death, as has been said, bears within it "a radical violence". At the same time, an examination of the employment of these words "tragedy" and "tragical" demonstrates without a shadow of doubt that men thought of them almost exclusively in terms of murder. In *Jack Drum's Entertainment* Pasquil uses "tragedy" for the murder he is about to commit; "Arden's Tragedy" in *Arden of Feversham* means his death by a criminal hand; "Thy tragedie" in *The Spanish Tragedy* signifies "thy death by violence". In the induction to *A Warning for Fair Women*, Tragedy is "Murthers Beadle". The prologue to *The Devil's Charter* (1607) sums it all up:

Our subject is of bloud and Tragedie,  
Murther, foule Incest, and Hypocrisie.

Dozens of examples could be adduced to show that it was the manner of death and not simply death itself which occupied men's minds when they thought of this term; and the more murders there were in a play the more intense a tragedy it became. In the first part of Thomas Heywood's *The Iron Age* a stage-direction informs us that

*They are all slaine at once,*

whereupon one of the survivors comments—

Why, so, so, this was stately tragicall.

Amid all of this, one play stands out alone, Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Neither of the two principal characters is slain by another, and in the course of the action murder does not play even a subsidiary role. Mercutio is killed in fight with Tybalt, and Tybalt in fight with Romeo. This fact immediately assumes particular significance when we find that the description on the title-page is unique. *Romeo and Juliet* is not a lamentable and true tragedy: it is "An Excellent conceited Tragedie"—and the second of these adjectives had by that time become specifically part of comedy's sphere. Apparently either Shakespeare or his publisher felt that an attempt was being made in this play to do something different from what others had done. In penning his "excellent" and "conceited" play, therefore, Shakespeare can be seen engaged in trying a double experiment—basing his tragedy on romance material instead of on historical events, and avoiding the familiar use of murder—thus breaking away from his companions to explore hitherto untried ground. And the title-page indicates that he or his companions, probably both, fully realized the innovating quality of his experiment.

The reference to historical events naturally leads to a consideration of the new generic term, "history"—a term under which a third of Shakespeare's plays were printed in the First Folio, but which crept with very tentative steps into the theatrical world. In 1567 appeared *Horestes*, "a newe Enterlude of Vice Conteyninge, the Historye of Horestes": the following year *Jacob and Esau* was printed as "a newe mery and wittie Comedie



or Enterlude . . . treating upon the Historie of Jacob and Esau "; *Common Conditions* came in 1576 as a comedy " drawne out of the most famous historie of Galiarbus Duke of Arabia ". In none of these is " history " used as a generic theatrical term, and we might think that for all three the word was being employed to suggest, not the manner of treatment, but the truth of the actions displayed on the stage. Elizabethans might well take Orestes as an historical figure ; the truth of the Biblical narratives was unquestioned ; and the events of *Common Conditions* were taken from a " famous history ". At the same time, we receive another impression, that there is here a kind of vague groping after some word which would convey the idea of " tale " or " narrative " ; and that this impression has validity seems indicated by a further development in the employment of the term during the nineties. The first play to have " history " attached to it on the title-page was *The Taming of a Shrew* in 1594, where it was described as " pleasant conceited " ; during the same year *Friar Bacon* was issued as an " Honorable Historie " and " history " was the word used to designate *Orlando Furioso*. Certainly none of these could be taken to be anything save tales or narratives ; " history " here means simply " story ". So, too, *Clyomon and Clamydes* and *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon* were both " histories " in 1599, while it is noticeable that *James IV*, described as a " Scottish Historie " in the quarto of 1598, was entered four years earlier in 1594 as " the Scottishe story " and that *Alphonsus*, full of slaughters, was called a " Comicall Historie ", evidently in the sense of " a story told, theatrically, in the form of a play ". Precisely the same compound term, " comicall Historie ", was employed the following year for *The Merchant of Venice*. The descriptive words on the title-page : " With the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh : and the obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three chests "—are designed to stress the romantic nature of the theme, and we must suppose, once again, that the term " comicall Historie " is to be interpreted in the sense of " dramatic narrative ", with, perhaps, faint overtones suggestive of a fortunate conclusion. At any rate, Greene, who seems to have been the innovator in

the employment of the compound term, refers in his novel *Perymedes* to "comickall historie" as a story with a happy ending.

Much more important, however, was a further development in the use of the word "history", a development which came just about the same time. In 1598 *Henry IV* was issued as a "History" and it is essential to observe that no other history-play published up to this time had been given such a title. Dramas which dealt with the careers of earlier English monarchs had been styled tragedies, troublesome reigns and lives and deaths. In so far as published plays are concerned, Shakespeare was definitely the innovator here, and it was he who in 1600 first established the term "chronicle history" for *Henry V*, combining Peele's "chronicle" with his own new use of "history". Since *Henry IV* inaugurated the employment of "history" as a theatrical designation and since the play of *Sir John Oldcastle* was confessedly written in opposition to it, for the purpose of presenting a more favourable portrait of Oldcastle-Falstaff, we need feel no surprise at finding Shakespeare's innovation caught up and ironically emphasized in this drama's generic description as a "true and honorable historie". Nor need surprise be felt when, in *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, the new and the old are combined in one comprehensive *True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell*.

After the term "history" had thus been given a specifically theatrical connotation, the use of the word in the more general sense of "story" naturally declined, and perhaps a sign of this is shown, in 1602, when Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* was printed. On the title-page appears *The History of Antonio and Mellida*, but the half-title styles it "The Play called Antonio and Mellida"—and that reminds us of the fact that, since the run on the designation "play" in Heywood's five works published three-quarters of a century earlier, this word had not been used for any dramatic writing save the unprofessional *Robin Hood* of 1560. We receive the impression here that Marston, after describing his drama as a "history" in the wider sense, has turned to the word "play" in an endeavour to suggest "a dramatic narrative of a kind for which there exists no narrowly

defining term". If so, he is pointing the way forwards to the prologue of Fletcher's *The Woman-hater*: "I dare not call it Comedy, or Tragedy", declares the author, "'tis perfectly neither: A Play it is".

Whether Marston had this in mind or not, certainly "history" and "chronicle history" became established by Shakespeare's example as strictly theatrical terms. *Captain Thomas Stukeley* and *Sir Thomas Wyatt* are "famous histories"; *When you see me, you know me*, dealing with Henry VIII, *King Leir and his Three Daughters*, *Nobody and Somebody*, dealing with the ancient Elidure, and Shakespeare's own *King Lear* are all "chronicle histories".

What, then, is our conclusion? Shakespeare clearly put the catalogue of plays into Polonius' mouth as a joke; yet often we may suspect that Shakespeare's jokes were directed at least partly towards himself. He, it seems, was responsible for establishing "history" as a generic term, and it looks as though Polonius' "tragical-historical" was indeed first used for the world's most famous play—*The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet*.

## HEBREW DRAMA

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UNLIKE the literatures of Greece and Rome, classical Hebrew was never couched, as far as we are aware, in the form of a play. Not that the Bible is lacking in the elements of drama. From the point of view of plot, tension, character and dialogue the narratives of the Old Testament are dramatic in the fullest sense. The very economy of the Biblical story, the skeleton outlines which bite into the imagination and compel the reader to supply the flesh and blood, the stark realities of situation that inflame the emotions to the point of outrage all constitute the very stuff of which dramatic tension is made. No further proof is needed than a mere mention of the binding of Isaac, or the pathetic episode of the concubine in *Judges*, abused all night—more in defiance perhaps of the laws of hospitality than of the sacred code of ethics—and found prostrate in the morning before her master's house with her hand upon the threshold.

Indeed, with the exception of *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Ecclesiastes* and *Canticles* the Hebrew Bible might be regarded as one long drama with a single theme—how Israel acquired its land, lost it and then reacquired it—with two principal characters, God and Israel, between whom there is a covenant dependent on the observance of the Law.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, with the possible exception of *Ruth* with its subtle dramatic tensions and delicately modulated plot,<sup>2</sup> and of *Job* which, with its prologue and epilogue and the carefully balanced cycles of long speeches that comprise by far the greater part of the book, certainly bears a highly stylized form, although more in the manner of a symposium than

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. D. Goitein, *The Art of Narrative in the Bible* (Hebrew text), Jerusalem, 1956.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Robertson, "The Plot of the Book of Ruth" in *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, xxxii, No. 2, March 1950.



a play, and of the still less likely dramatic structure which some scholars have found in *Canticles*, the Bible displays no trace of conventional dramatic form.

More remarkable, however, is the fact that Hebrew literature, in spite of an enormous and uninterrupted output, scarcely yielded a single drama for more than 1,700 years after the close of the Canon. Although this long period abounds in poetry and prose couched in almost every literary *genre* and expresses a wide variety of religious and secular experience, the dramatic form, whether by accident or design, is almost entirely absent.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, even the dramatic elements of the Bible scarcely exist in the Hebrew literature produced throughout those centuries. Yehudah Halevi's philosophical treatise *Kuzari* is admittedly couched in dialogue form. But only the liturgical poetry known as *Piyyut* bears an occasional trace of genuine dramatic feeling in the passionate exchanges between God and Israel so fervently expressed in primitive style by Hakalir, for example, writing in Palestine in the seventh century, or in the more polished but no less moving lines written by Ibn Gabirol in the eleventh century in Spain :

*Israel:*

Why do I weep? Because Thou keepest silence,  
Though violence rages, and, all uncontrolled,  
The mob destroys, and we as slaves to strangers,  
Master and man together, have been sold,  
And no Redeemer do our eyes behold.

*God:*

Behold I keep the oath I swore to gather  
My captives—kings shall bring their gifts to thee;  
Created for a witness to the nations,  
My holy ones shall testify to Me—  
Yea, Jesse's son Mine eyes already see.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A primitive drama dealing with Abner ben Ner and the Court of King Saul was, indeed, composed by the Turkish Karaite, Caleb Afendopolo, towards the end of the fifteenth century, while in the first quarter of the sixteenth century Guiseppe Gallo wrote a Hebrew adaptation of Fernando de Rojas's famous Spanish comedy, *Celestina*. See C. Roth, *The Jews in the Renaissance*, Philadelphia, 1959, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> *Selected Religious Poems of Solomon Ibn Gabirol*, translated by I. Zangwill (Philadelphia, 1923), p. 29.

During the late Middle Ages the celebrations connected with the festival of Purim had, admittedly, developed a tradition of pageantry, including comic if crude dramatic representations of the story of Mordecai and Esther, and even other well-known biblical episodes. The earliest work in Hebrew literature, however, which may fairly claim to be a drama, dates only from the second half of the sixteenth century. This lively and highly effective little comedy, *Ṣaḥuth Bedhiḥutha Deḳiddushin* (A Wedding Frolic), prior to which no real Hebrew play has been unearthed, stands as a landmark in Hebrew literature. Professor Schirman has attributed it to Leone de Sommi,<sup>1</sup> the talented director of the court theatre at Mantua, one of the great centres of the Renaissance in Italy. This theatre, organized by the Jewish community of Mantua for almost a hundred years, occupies a distinguished place in the history of the Italian theatre. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that the early Hebrew drama emerged from the fertile climate of Italian humanism.<sup>2</sup> But it is remarkable that the first Hebrew play is characterized by a technical understanding of stagecraft which was scarcely rivalled in Hebrew literature for more than three centuries—a fact which provides a key to the understanding of this branch of Hebrew literature until very recent times.

The organic development of Hebrew drama was stunted from the outset by one obvious but decisive factor—the lack of an audience. Admittedly many plays—including some of the more important—were written as wedding gifts, and even performed as part of the marriage celebrations. But even granting the ability of a proportion of the guests to understand the highly coloured Hebrew in which most of them are written—in any case a very doubtful assumption—an occasional assembly of wedding guests scarcely constitutes the sort of critical audience necessary for the evolution of serious drama. In the absence of a primary motivating force the writing of plays inevitably assumes

<sup>1</sup> See Schirman's edition, Jerusalem, 1946. But see also I. Zinberg, *History of the Literature of Israel* (Hebrew text), vol. 2 (Merhavia, 1956), p. 432 and vol. 4 (Tel-Aviv, 1958), p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> See the chapter on "The Jews and the Renaissance Theatre" in C. Roth, *op. cit.*

an artificial character. The mere adoption of such a literary form, regardless of any other function which the writer has in mind, becomes essentially imitative. So much so, that such evolution as takes place in Hebrew drama during its first three hundred years largely consists of the change from Italian, Spanish and French influence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to German and finally Russian influence in the nineteenth.

The Hebrew drama of those centuries suffers, moreover, from a further and equally emasculating malady, namely that Hebrew was then a literary and not a living and immediately comprehensible idiom. A language used solely for literary purposes may well be able to express a wide range of intellectual, and more particularly liturgical, concepts, but it remains a wearily clumsy instrument for handling direct speech. All the cut and thrust of dialogue, the sudden flash of repartee, the precise economy of idiomatic phrase become blurred and unconvincing in the face of paraphrase and strained approximation. The colourful qualities of living conversation give place to ponderous and artificial expressions dragged from the written page and pressed into service for want of a real vernacular. Any spoken language teems with a variety of short, idiomatic and universally accepted turns of phrase, which through constant usage become infinitely pliable, and capable of establishing immediate contact. In drama the conformity of expression and situation necessarily determine the measure of conviction exerted by the dialogue. A literary language possesses no such yardstick. There is no comparable universe of general assent. The absence of a living idiom presents a formidable barrier to the identification of the spectator—or the reader—with the *dramatis personae*. Without the direct appeal of familiar expression not even a sympathy can be aroused. In place of the intimacy of understanding that lies inherent in the drama, the most that can be expected is an intellectual appreciation of the writer's skill in providing a substitute—but never more than a substitute—for the genuine appeal of living language.

The absence of vernacular idiom inevitably inflicted another serious blow upon the Hebrew drama of these centuries. The characters in the plays are correspondingly unconvincing.

Whereas in real life a person's character largely determines his conversation, in the drama—and also, although to a lesser extent, the novel—the reverse is true. In both forms of literature the unfolding of personality depends directly upon the words put into the character's mouth, and his capacity to convince will vary with the genuineness of his expression. The portrayal of a rich and rounded character demands an extremely subtle use of language, with every phrase delicately modulated to reproduce the exact shade of emphasis. Even authors writing in a living idiom and steeped from childhood in the patterns of conversation are hard pressed in the task of keeping every utterance in character. But for the writer, who is forced to hew solid fragments out of written texts and try to squeeze them into moulds quite alien to their nature, the problems are virtually insuperable. Individual words have little organic existence in any language. They are always fused in sequence and flow along channels made smooth by ceaseless usage. But for all their inherent mobility their penetration into new areas of expression is always a sluggish and halting process, and they adapt themselves to different demands only slowly and laboriously.

Compelled to use a comparatively unyielding medium the Hebrew dramatists had largely to forgo any real subtlety of expression, and deemed themselves fortunate in creating any sort of conversation at all. That the characters in their plays are stilted need occasion little surprise. Far more importantly, they were rarely able to create any but the most uncomplicated personality and, indeed, were normally reduced to the delineation of a single facet. As a consequence the overwhelming majority of their characters are either black or white; the heroes are paragons of virtue and the villains devils incarnate. The complexities of language necessary for the portrayal of richer and more convincing personalities were not then available. For that reason the ability to surprise, so important for a rounded character, is almost non-existent in these plays.

The picture, however, is by no means uniformly dark. Even during the three centuries that precede its latest and most successful phase, Hebrew drama presents a number of positive features, some of which were occasioned, paradoxically enough,



by the very inherent weaknesses outlined above. The constant search for conversational idiom gradually helped to forge the basic elements of a living language, which were subsequently to prove of considerable value in the task of reviving Hebrew as a spoken tongue. Not only had the dramas helped to familiarize many a turn of phrase which ultimately became accepted, but in addition they had more than amply demonstrated the type of expression to be discarded. Moreover, the very portrayal of characters speaking Hebrew had considerable importance psychologically. It served as a demonstration of potentiality, if not of actuality.

Again, in the absence of a suitable, colloquial idiom the Hebrew playwrights opted in the main for poetic drama, to which the moulds of Hebrew literature were better suited. As a result Hebrew poetry received a new and powerful stimulus after a period of comparative stagnation lasting several centuries. A number of the dramas contain some of the finest poetry ever written in Hebrew. And meanwhile they performed another important, if less spectacular, service in gradually freeing Hebrew poetry from the artificial metres adopted by the Hebrew poets in Spain, which had dominated poetry for almost seven hundred years, and reduced much of it to mere doggerel.

One further consequence of the language problem is worthy of note. The delineation of character within the normally prescribed limits enforced upon the dramatists by the unyielding nature of their linguistic material accorded well, in one respect, with their own natural inclinations. Even the very early playwrights injected a strong ethical vein into their compositions. But this didactic tendency is still more evident in the Hebrew drama of the nineteenth century written under the stimulus of the movement of enlightenment, whose prime motivation was to foster an interest in secular education, and which regarded literature as an admirable vehicle for the promotion of moral standards in general. In this respect their views were greatly influenced by the relationship of ethics and aesthetics propounded by the eighteenth century philosophers.

Here, at least, the Hebrew dramatists were able to make a virtue of necessity. A considerable proportion of the dramas

written during these three centuries is allegorical. The characters bear symbolic names such as *Truth*, *Virtue*, *Pride* and *Falsehood*, and correspond roughly to the "Humours" of the seventeenth-century English drama. This device contained a two-fold advantage for their authors. On the one hand they were able to expound the ethical views they held so dear. This obtains not only in the inevitable victory of good over evil—even though virtue is usually submitted to the severest trials and frequently appears to be in hopeless straits before finally emerging triumphant—but also in the excellent opportunities afforded for the more specific aim of rendering practical advice within the accepted patterns of Wisdom Literature, so well beloved by the moralists. This feature is not, of course, confined to Hebrew drama, as any student familiar with the somewhat fulsome aphorisms of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* will readily admit. There is, however, one classic example of a character in an eighteenth-century Hebrew play<sup>1</sup> who bears the name *Research*, and who extols the virtues of natural science, combining an accuracy of observation with an exquisite quality of poetry to a degree that can have few rivals in world literature. It is not without reason that some scholars have attributed the beginnings of modern Hebrew literature to the science-lyrics of *Research*! The second advantage is equally apparent.

The avowed one-sidedness of the characters in the allegorical dramas lightened the linguistic burden of the Hebrew dramatists in two directions. In the first place they were less subject to the stringencies of living idiom demanded in the delineation of the more rounded character on the lines described above. In the absence of the subtleties of expression necessary for the portrayal of fine shades of character and nuances of mood, the dramatists were enabled to concentrate the limited resources at their disposal on the task of outlining single facets of personality—a far less formidable undertaking. In the second place they were able to utilize the device of allowing their characters to expound their views in lengthy speeches, sometimes interspersed with long soliloquies. As the plays were not designed

<sup>1</sup> *La-Yesharim Tehillah* by M. H. Luzzatto. This play has run through more than twenty editions, a record in modern Hebrew literature.

for actual production this method is less reprehensible, especially as it suited their didactic purposes so well. But the writing of long speeches is far less difficult idiomatically than the creation of rapid dialogue and lively repartee. Moreover, it is far more amenable to poetic form, and the more rhetorical turns of phrase with which Hebrew was better endowed. Certainly, the literary level of many of the early Hebrew allegorical plays is very much higher than might be imagined in the absence of so important an ingredient of drama as a living, spoken idiom.

Side by side with the allegorical plays a second major category emerges during this long formative period, namely the Biblical drama. Here again, the determining factors seem to have been more than merely co-incidental. Quite apart from the obvious familiarity of subject matter which is always significant in the sympathetic appreciation of any art-form, the Bible offered the Hebrew dramatist two considerable advantages. The fact that so many of the Biblical stories are highly-charged with dramatic tension and suspense inevitably exerted a powerful appeal upon the imagination of the Hebrew writers, who felt that all the elements necessary for their plays were virtually available on their doorstep. The sheer economy of the original narrative with all its tantalizing and often enigmatic episodes simply cried out for fuller exposition in dramatic form, especially as so much additional material lay ready to hand in the broad field of Midrashic interpretation. Again, the fact that so much of the Bible is couched in the form of direct speech provided the writers with a ready-made store of living phraseology which could be transferred piecemeal into the dialogue, and lend an idiomatic colouring not otherwise forthcoming.

Not all the factors, however, were equally advantageous. The strength of Biblical narrative stems so organically from its concise economy of expression, that any large-scale expansion greatly undermines the dramatic force. A single sentence in the Bible may well contain more real drama than a full-length work based on the identical theme. The same objection largely obtains with respect to characterization. The weakness of so many of the Biblical figures that stalk the pages of the Hebrew drama is that they are portrayed with so much more conviction in the

Old Testament itself, and inevitably suffer by comparison with the grandeur of the originals. It is not, therefore, surprising that many of the Biblical dramas are based upon comparatively minor characters and episodes. Not only were many of the authors not yet sufficiently confident to embark upon a dramatization of the major themes of the Bible, which would have demanded a breadth of treatment beyond their limited techniques, but they preferred apparently to devote their main efforts to figures, whose comparatively meagre roles in the Bible would not categorically brand all further attempts to portray them as mere caricature.

With these factors in mind, it is pertinent to return to the early Hebrew drama. In spite of Leone de Sommi's example, the following century yielded the meagrest of harvests as far as Hebrew drama is concerned.<sup>1</sup> Apart from Joseph Penso's allegorical play *'Asire ha-Tiqwah* (Amsterdam, 1673), the plot of which devolves upon the difficulties encountered by a king, whose earnest resolve to govern righteously is undermined by his baser instincts, and further weakened first by his wife and then by Satan, but who is eventually encouraged to return to wiser counsels by his own reason, supported by Divine Providence and by an angel, the sole productions even worthy of note are two plays by the scholar and mystic Moses Zacuto. Even of these, only one entitled *Yesodh 'Olam* falls, even loosely, into any real category of drama. Published in 1874, more than two centuries after its composition in 1642, *Yesodh 'Olam* is a Biblical play, designed perhaps to strengthen the loyalty of Marrano Jews to their ancestral faith, and direct their attention away from the literature of European languages to Hebrew. Depicting the troubles which beset Abraham as a result of his iconoclastic exploits, the play is largely an adaptation of the Midrashic story, according to which Nimrod sentences both Abraham and his brother Haran to be cast into a fiery furnace; but whereas Haran perishes in the flames, Abraham is rescued by an angel. There is no division into acts or scenes, but the poetry is arranged

<sup>1</sup> For a list of early Hebrew dramas, see A. Berliner's edition of Moses Zacuto's *Yesodh 'Olam* (Berlin, 1874); and A. Ya'ari, *Ha-Mahazeh ha-'Ibhri* (Jerusalem, 1956), who lists 1396 original and translated plays.



partly in long passages written in monorhyme and partly in rhyming quatrains, with an occasional sonnet interspersed. Although dramatically crude, and graced with a minimum of action, the play is written in an attractive style which exerts a certain appeal. For want of publication, however, it could wield no influence on subsequent Hebrew drama.

Of much greater value poetically, however, even though the dramatic element is weaker still, is Zacuto's second play *Tophteh 'Arukḥ* (Venice, 1715). A mystery play devoted to the life after death, the first act is unfolded in a cemetery, with the corpse and a demon as the main *dramatis personae*, while a non-participating cast comprises the dead man's family, grave diggers and supporting groups of sinners and demons. A terrifying noise, followed by the sudden submergence of the grave and corpse alike, leads to the second act, which takes place in hell. The frightened new arrival is confronted by a devil, and a remarkable conversation ensues in which the former bewails his fate, pleads for mercy and offers ransom for his soul, all in five line stanzas, while the devil's apt replies each consist of a single word rhyming with the concluded stanza.<sup>1</sup> This act contains a powerful description of hell and its torments, doubtless influenced by Dante's *Inferno*, while the moral lessons emerging from this portrait of the vanity of human life and the futility of sin scarcely require elucidation.<sup>2</sup>

The main contribution to Hebrew drama on Italian soil, however, is inextricably linked with the name of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto. This mystic, visionary and poet, one of the giants of Hebrew literature, is an enigma standing with one foot firmly planted in the Middle Ages and the other in the modern world. Like Penso's *'Asire Ha-Tiqwah*, Luzzatto's first play, a dramatic version of the story of Samson entitled *Ma'aseh Shimshon*, was composed at the tender age of seventeen and intended merely as an illustration to his masterly study on rhetoric, *Leshon Limmud-him*. Although written in 1724, this naive but very promising

<sup>1</sup> This very effective trick of style is modelled on the popular echo device of the Renaissance play, which M. H. Luzzatto was later to introduce so skilfully in both his allegorical dramas.

<sup>2</sup> The work was reprinted (Venice, 1743) by Jacob Daniel Olmo, who added a parallel description of Heaven in the same metre, entitled *'Eden 'Arukḥ*.

little drama remained unknown for more than two centuries, being published only in 1927.<sup>1</sup> As a result it, too, was unable to exert any influence on Hebrew literature during the intervening period.

The same is largely true, unfortunately, of Luzzatto's second drama written in pastoral style entitled *Mighdal 'Oz* which, although written in 1727, was first published only a century later (Leipzig, 1837). Subsequently, however, its influence has been considerable, and it has appeared in many editions. The true literary ancestor of *Mighdal 'Oz* is Tasso's pastoral drama, *L'Aminta* (1573), which proved so popular that it evoked some two hundred imitations during the course of the following century. Of these one of the most successful was Guarini's *Pastor Fido* (1590) which appeared in an English translation by Richard Fanshawe entitled *The Faithful Shepherd* in 1648. The influence of Guarini's work on *Mighdal 'Oz* is very marked. Luzzatto was well acquainted with Italian literature, and by temperament attracted to the pastoral idyll. Certainly, Luzzatto's play introduced new and refreshing elements into Hebrew literature, notably a deep appreciation of the beauties of nature, a zest for living and the natural presentation of human passions. At the same time, while availing himself of Guarini's plot, Luzzatto was careful to purge it of its coarser and more sensual aspects, substituting an atmosphere of *'Aggadiah* for the Greek mythology pervading his model. Moreover, his deep interest in mysticism is responsible for the many Cabbalistic threads woven into the texture of the play.

Luzzatto's place in the history of Hebrew drama is primarily determined, however, by his third and most mature play, *La-Yesharim Tehillah*. Written in Amsterdam in 1743, this allegorical drama was destined for immediate fame, and exerted a direct and powerful influence on Hebrew literature—and not merely Hebrew drama—for well over a century. Its importance may be measured not only by the number of imitations it evoked during the nineteenth century, as we shall see, but also by the fact that it served successive generations of young students as an

<sup>1</sup> See S. Ginsburg, *The Life and Works of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 102, n. 235.

indispensable introduction to an appreciation of literature. Quite apart from the distinctive qualities it shares with *Mighdal 'Oz*, *La-Yesharim Tehillah* is remarkable on two accounts. The character symbolically called *Research*, referred to above, introduced a new element of the greatest significance into Hebrew thought and letters, which was to bear fruit in the nineteenth century movement of enlightenment known as *Haskalah*. But, in addition, the quality of much of the poetry of *La-Yesharim Tehillah* is so fine that the play constitutes a work of art in its own right, with few rivals in Hebrew literature from the close of the Bible to the most recent times.

Luzzatto, in fact, is responsible only for one negative effect upon Hebrew literature. The popularity of allegorical dramas aroused by *La-Yesharim Tehillah* tended to stunt the growth of other types of drama which might have proved of greater significance to modern Hebrew. Of allegorical dramas, however, there is no lack. Luzzatto's example was followed by his fellow-countryman, Samuel Romanelli whose allegory, *Ha-Qoloth Yehdalun* (Berlin, 1791), was also occasioned by a wedding, but this time in the Jewish community of Berlin. Although no mean poet and a skilful technician Romanelli fell into the trap, so wisely avoided by his more illustrious predecessor, of introducing figures from Greek mythology, such as Venus and Cupid, into his play. For that reason, perhaps, Romanelli's drama, for all the poetic appeal of its numerous monologues and the arias interspersed after the manner of the eighteenth-century Italian drama, was soon neglected. A hundred years and more were needed before Tschernichowsky finally conditioned the Hebrew reading public to a reluctant acceptance of the gods of Greece as a legitimate theme for Hebrew poetry.

Nothing daunted, Shalom Ha-Cohen composed a drama '*Amal we-Tiršah* (Rödelheim, 1812), which he hopefully described as a conscious extension of Luzzatto's masterpiece, and which not only utilizes the same *dramatis personae* in order to repair Luzzatto's omission of any punishment of the wicked, but also imitates the form of *La-Yesharim Tehillah* even to the inclusion of a long monologue on plants in the manner of *Research*! But there the comparison ends, and '*Amal we-Tiršah*, serves only to

emphasize the superiority of its predecessor and model. Almost a quarter of a century later, Aaron David Gordon published yet another allegorical drama, '*Aphiq Naḥalim* (Wilna, 1836), written in satirical style and attacking what the author considered to be some of the abuses of contemporary Jewish life. More successful, if only because of its sincerity, is the allegorical drama by Abraham Dov Lebensohn entitled '*Emeth we-'Emunah* (Wilna, 1867). A considerable poet of the more reflective type, although endowed with little dramatic sense, Lebensohn once again consciously imitates Luzzatto's form, but uses his play primarily as a vehicle for the ideas of enlightenment, of which he remained a staunch champion throughout his life. The drama frankly represents a polemic against the prevailing patterns of Jewish society, upholding the cause of knowledge against the evils of ignorance and superstition. Within its terms of reference the play does, indeed, command a certain respect, but in the year following its publication, the forceful critic, A. J. Papirno, subjected it to so withering an attack, that for a time Lebensohn's drama became something of a *cause célèbre*.

Nevertheless, the publicist and poet Abraham Baer Gottlober had the temerity to publish another allegorical drama in Jitomir in that same year, 1868, entitled '*Tiph'ereth le-Bhenei Yisrael*, which again imitates Luzzatto's '*La-Yesharim Tehillah*. More interesting, however, is the fact that Meir Lebush Malbim, one of the best known Rabbinical scholars of the nineteenth century and author of the famous commentary on the Bible which bears his name, should have written an allegorical drama in similar style entitled '*Mashal U-Meliṣah* (Paris, 1867). But the appeal of Malbim's play lies in the fact that he uses it as a vehicle for a most forthright attack upon the exponents of enlightenment, thereby smiting them, as it were, with one of the most effective of their own rods! The publication of a further imitation of '*La-Yesharim Tehillah*, namely D. M. Andermann's '*Emunah we-Haskalah* (Drohobycz, 1887), almost one hundred and fifty years after the appearance of its illustrious predecessor, bears additional testimony to the tenacity of the allegorical tradition, however debased, which M. H. Luzzatto had all unwittingly established.



Meanwhile, Hebrew drama was also developing along another major path, namely, in the use of Biblical themes. In this instance, however, Luzzatto's *Ma'aseh Shimshon* cannot be regarded as the driving inspiration, for it lay buried in manuscript throughout this period. Instead, the main credit for the serious innovation of Hebrew Biblical drama must be attributed to David Franco-Mendes, whose *Gemul 'Athaliah* (Amsterdam, 1770) represents a new *genre* in Hebrew literature, and was highly considered in its day. Although deriving a number of features from the plays of Racine and Metastasio on similar themes, the *Gemul 'Athaliah* is not an imitation of either. Mendes's version, in fact, constitutes a polemic against Racine's play, with the object of restoring a correct perspective to the Biblical story, especially in respect to the wickedness of Athaliah.<sup>1</sup> As a drama, Mendes's work is probably firmer in structure and more successful as regards characterization than anything prior to it in Hebrew literature. It was republished in Vienna in 1800, and again in Warsaw as late as 1860.

Almost a quarter of a century later Joseph Ephrati published a Biblical drama devoted to the reign of King Saul entitled *Melukhath Sha'ul* (Vienna, 1794). This drama, too, displays considerable dramatic skill as well as occasional flashes of psychological insight, which endow the play with more than transient interest. Indeed, after an initial eclipse the drama was reprinted in 1820 and has since appeared in a further ten editions, while a Yiddish translation made in the author's own lifetime has been published an almost equal number of times.

In the year following the appearance of Ephrati's play, Hayyim Abraham ben Aryeh published a Biblical drama entitled *Milhamah Be-Shalom* (Sklow, 1795). This work is divided into two parts, of which the first treats of the sale of Joseph, and the journey undertaken by his brothers to buy grain in Egypt, while the second depicts the discussions between Jacob's sons and the Egyptian magicians, and finally the touching recognition of Joseph by his brethren. The play was translated into Polish and produced in Warsaw for Prince Paskewitch. The women of the court were apparently so moved that several of them

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Melkman, *David Franco-Mendes* (Amsterdam, 1951).

fainted, with the result that further performances of the drama were prohibited !

A shorter drama *Naboth ha-Yisra'eli* (Rödelheim, 1807) by the previously mentioned Shalom Ha-Cohen is based upon the infamous murder of Naboth by King Ahab at the instigation of his wicked queen, Jezebel, for possession of the unfortunate victim's vineyard. This play is certainly of a higher order than the allegorical drama by the same author in the handling of the plot and in the delineation of character, but it remains inferior to the dramas both of Franco-Mendes and of Ephrati.

During the nineteenth century, the volume of Hebrew literature was increased by a steady flow of original Biblical dramas, quite apart from the large number of plays adapted or translated from European languages. Although the majority of the original works have passed into so total an oblivion that even the various histories of literature fail to mention them, they serve at least to illustrate the tenacity of the Biblical tradition in Hebrew drama, while the choice of theme is also illuminating. With the notable exceptions of Moses and Joseph, it is indicative that almost all the dramas—as stated above—are concerned with comparatively minor Biblical figures. The poignant story of Jephthah's daughter was utilized, for example, by Moses Neumann in the theme for his drama *Bath Yiphtah* (Vienna, 1806). During the ensuing decade, a number of Biblical dramas were composed in Breslau. Following Eliezer Raschkow's *Amnon we-Tamar* (1812 [?]) and Süsskind Raschkow's equally ephemeral *Yoseph we-Asenath* (1817) there appeared in 1818 a drama of somewhat greater significance. The highly charged episode of the luckless concubine described in chapters nineteen and twenty of the book of *Judges*, referred to at the beginning of this paper, was used by David Zamoscz as the basis for his play *Pileghesh be-Ghibh'ah* (Breslau, 1818). Zamoscz rightly recognized the dramatic tension of the story, but whether his play measures up to the gripping drama of the Biblical narrative is more than doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The group of Hebrew dramatists writing in Germany in the early nineteenth century is, however, worthy of remark, not for any intrinsic value to be found in their plays, but because of certain important tendencies which they display.

So strong was the lure of Biblical drama that even the famous scholar and thinker Samuel David Luzzatto entered the lists with two short plays, *Hananiah*, *Mishael we-Azariah* and *On ben Pelet*, published in his book *Kinnor Na'im* (Vienna, 1825). Meanwhile the more illustrious Biblical personages, Moses and Joseph, were employed respectively as the themes for Isaac Kandia's *Toledhoth Moshe* (Warsaw, 1829) and Nathan Kalkor's *Gedhulath Yoseph* (Copenhagen, 1834). In the latter year Israel Cohen turned to the book of *Ruth* to find the subject matter for his drama *Boaz we-Ruth* (Breslau, 1834), while Nahman Isaac Fischmann utilized the same historical period in a dramatic depiction of the downfall of Sisera, entitled *Mappoleth Sisera* (Lemberg, 1841).<sup>1</sup> The reign of King David, not unnaturally, also attracted some attention. The virtuous Abigail is the heroine of Elias Levin's drama, *'Esheth Hayil* (Wilna, 1866), while the unhappy consequences of Absalom's revolt form the theme of Joshua Bank's tragedy, *Tebhusath Absalom* (Odessa, 1868). The disastrous result of Amnon's incestuous passion for Tamar, dramatized by Eliezer Rashkow more than half a century previously, was utilized once more by Aaron Margoliouth in his tragedy *Semel ha-'Ahabhah we-ha-Qin'ah* (Vienna, 1877). Although by no means complete, this catalogue of forgotten plays

Although almost all these writers are now completely forgotten, Professor Rabin has demonstrated the significant part they once played in the literature of the *Haskalah*. See C. Rabin, "Some Dramatists of the Haskalah Movement in Germany" (Hebrew text) in *Melilah*, vol. 5, 1955. Apart from the brave though unsuccessful attempt by I. B. Bing of Würzburg to create a Hebrew slang in his melodrama *Obed und Thürza* (the title is given in German as well as in Hebrew), a number of other writers connected with Breslau composed several works, apparently inspired directly or indirectly by Joseph Ephrati. Not only do their writings comprise a number of romantic plays on Biblical and even post-Biblical themes, but their most important representative, David Zamoszcz, composed, in addition to his Biblical drama, two realistic plays dealing with contemporary German-Jewish life and its problems. The attempt in itself is highly significant as a harbinger, however obscure, of what was to become the major theme of Hebrew literature from the sixties of the last century onwards. There is, indeed, some reason to believe that these playwrights may have influenced Abraham Mapu, whose social novel *The Hypocrite*, provided the real impetus in making modern Hebrew literature respond to the compelling demands of contemporary life.

<sup>1</sup> Almost thirty years later Fischmann published a second drama, *Qesher Shebna* (Lemberg, 1870).

bears ample testimony to the enthusiasm, no matter how misguided, felt by Hebrew writers of the nineteenth century for Biblical drama.

This courageous fidelity to Biblical drama, no matter how obscure, dating from the last decades of the eighteenth century and persisting tenaciously throughout the nineteenth, has ultimately proved of great benefit to Hebrew literature. The twentieth century has witnessed a spate of Biblical dramas, including many of high calibre by such talented writers as, for example, Jacob Kahan, Isaac Katznelson, Harry Sackler and Aaron Ashman. Although these are too numerous to review in detail, the four plays of Mattitiah Shoham, at least, deserve especial mention. One of the finest poets in modern Hebrew literature, Shoham was simultaneously endowed with keen historical insight. His first two dramas, *Jericho*, published in volume 20 (1924), and *Balaam*, published in volumes 23-5 (1925-9), of the journal *Ha-Tequphah* respectively, are remarkable for the authors reinterpretation of the original narrative, which differs significantly from the traditional view. Shoham displays a marked tendency to rehabilitate the villains of the piece, and taint the virtue of more than one Biblical hero, Phineas in particular. Although highly unorthodox in viewpoint, these plays exert a considerable dramatic appeal. They do, at least, avoid the overeagerness of the nineteenth-century enlighteners to project their own ideals back across the centuries into Bible times. His third drama *Tyre and Jerusalem* (Tel-Aviv, 1933), outlining the conflict of Elijah and Jezebel, depicts the queen's consuming passion for the prophet, until the stern rejection of her advances turns her love into fierce hatred. The full maturity of Shoham's art, however, is to be found in his fourth drama, *'Elohei Bharzel lo Ta'aseh Lakh* (Warsaw, 1936), which deals with Abraham's dawning recognition of the relationship between man and God, and its significance not only for Israel, but for humanity. Quite apart from their intellectual and spiritual content, Shoham's plays are sufficiently rich in poetry, drama and subtlety of characterization to claim the validity of fully-fledged works of art. As such, they are rivalled only by the allegorical dramas of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto.



The Bible has not, however, exercised a monopoly over historical drama. On the contrary, the vast field of post-biblical Jewish history has gradually exerted so great an appeal that almost every period has provided the material for Hebrew drama. During the nineteenth century, sporadic attempts were made to dramatize a number of the great events and personalities of Jewish history. As early as 1805, Moses Konitz published a drama, *Beth Rabbi*, based on the life of Judah the Prince, the compiler of the *Mishnah*, in which he incorporated all the material to be found in the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds. Sixty years later Phineas Kraemer composed a tragedy depicting the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans, entitled *'Al Homoth Yerushalayim* (Vienna, 1865), while the final disastrous revolt against the Romans formed the theme of one of a number of historical dramas by Judah Leib Landau, which bears the name of its hero, *Bar Kokhba* (Lemberg, 1884).

More recently, the great poet Tschernichowsky utilized the same subject matter for a drama also entitled *Bar Kokhba* (Berlin-Tel-Aviv, 1930). The defiant spirit and indomitable courage of the rebels in the face of overwhelming odds appealed strongly to the poet, by temperament himself a rebel. The powerful Messianic stirrings which convulsed Jewish life in the seventeenth century, and which constitute one of the most fascinating and strife-ridden episodes in all the long history of the exile, provided the background both for Nathan Bistrisky's dramatization of the life of the most famous of the false messiahs, *Shabbetai Zebi*<sup>1</sup> (Tel-Aviv, 1931), and also for a strangely compelling play by Hayyim Hazaz entitled *Be-Keş Ha-Yamim* (Tel-Aviv, 1950). Pride of place, however, must be yielded to the Hasmonaeen period, which has provided material for more than thirty plays, most of them designed for children. Of the more serious dramas, the best known, perhaps, are Jacob Kahan's *Yannai we-Shulam-mite*, published in volume II of his collected works (Tel-Aviv, 1955), and Moshe Shamir's *Milhemeth Benei 'Or* (Merhavia, 1956).

<sup>1</sup> Bistrisky published a second drama with the same title, but completely re-written (Jerusalem, 1936).

During this century, however, the balance of Hebrew drama has gradually shifted in favour of plays of a different *genre*. The growth of Zionism and the colonization of Palestine have provided the subject matter for an ever-increasing number of dramas, which can now be reckoned in scores. Many of the plays are devoted to the depiction of life in the collective settlements in its various aspects, with a strong emphasis on the social and personal problems of that society. Side by side with the more serious compositions, the publication of a number of satires and comedies has served to broaden and enrich the scope of this branch of literature.

In the course of the last fifteen years, moreover, three new and very important themes have caught the imagination of Hebrew playwrights, and provided the inspiration for some dozens of new plays, namely: the Second World War, with all its disastrous consequences for European Jewry ; the tremendous immigration, both legal and illegal, into Palestine and Israel, which has resulted in the transference of entire Jewish communities from various parts of the world ; and finally, the War of Independence leading to the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, which has exerted an especial appeal on the young native-born generation of Hebrew writers. It is the latter, in particular, who have injected a note of realism into their work, endowing their plays with an attractive air of conviction and authenticity.

The ultimate course of Hebrew drama has been conditioned by two factors each of over-riding importance. The first of these resulted from the obstinate determination of Eliezer ben-Yehudah to revive Hebrew as a spoken language, which has led to the remarkable renaissance of the ancient tongue as a living vernacular. This factor is particularly noticeable in the work of the native-born writers whose dialogue, so far from being stilted, is peppered with racy colloquialisms, and not infrequently degenerates into slang. The second stems from the subsequent growth of the Hebrew theatre, whose first company, *Ha-Bimah*, was founded in Moscow in 1912 and transferred to Palestine in the late twenties. The establishment of a second company '*Ohel*' in 1925, was followed by the founding of a satirical theatre, *Maṭ'ateh*, unfortunately now defunct ; and finally, since 1945,

an additional company, the *Chamber Theatre*, has also entered the lists. These two vital factors have jointly provided the basic requisites for the organic growth of Hebrew drama, namely, a living idiom and an audience! Admittedly, the repertoires of all the companies have thus far included a preponderance of plays translated into Hebrew from the languages of Europe.<sup>1</sup> But the very excellence of these translations has contributed much to the development of modern Hebrew, which is inevitably influenced by the powerful formative factor provided by the theatre, whether through the medium of translations or original Hebrew plays.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, during the last decade, the volume of original Hebrew dramas composed by such talented writers as H. Hazaz, Y. Bar-Yoseph, N. Shaham, M. Shamir, Y. Mossinsohn and Leah Goldberg—to mention but a few of many—has increased enormously, and commands a constantly growing public interest. The development of the Hebrew theatre has, in addition, received a powerful stimulus from a number of experimental theatre-groups of considerable promise, which have sprung up only during the last few years.<sup>3</sup>

It is a far cry from Leone de Sommi's *Wedding Frolic* to the fully-fledged drama of the last decade. But any appreciation of the development of Hebrew drama should, perhaps, be determined not by the serious limitations and sad shortcomings of the majority of Hebrew plays composed until the most recent times, but rather by a recognition of the sheer tenacity and determination which made it possible for such dramas to have been written at all.

The same unbounded faith in and loyalty to the Hebrew language, which has ensured a continuous literary production over so many centuries and in so many fields, are manifest in the Hebrew drama, too. The fact that Hebrew playwrights

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, E. Samuel, "Britain and Israel: The Two-Way Flow of Ideas" in *The Jewish Quarterly*, Spring, 1957; and also D. Vardi, "Shakespeare in Hebrew", *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> See M. Shamir, "Colloquial Language and Literary Language" in *Sifrut* 3, 1957.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Spacs, "Israel's 'Avant-Garde' Theatre" in *The Jewish Quarterly*, *op. cit.*

have obstinately battled against most disconcerting odds to maintain a tradition for almost four centuries provides the best augury for its continuance, now that favourable conditions have been created at long last. Hebrew drama in any real sense is still in its barest infancy. But already it displays many hopeful signs for a rich and variegated future.



# THE TECHIALOYAN CODEX OF TEPOTZOTLÁN: CODEX X (RYLANDS MEXICAN MS. 1)

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## WITH A TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

By BYRON McAFEE

MEXICAN MS. 1 in the John Rylands Library is a codex from the pueblo or village of Tepotzotlán, Mexico.<sup>1</sup> Written during the Colonial Period on native paper it uses unlinked lower-case letters of the European alphabet, although it is in Náhuatl, the language of the Aztecs. It is an extremely interesting manuscript from several points of view. As we shall see, it is one of a large group called the Techialoyan Codices. It is incomplete in its present state, but we shall attempt to associate it with what we think are the missing pages. We will also make a new estimate of its date.

The manuscript is directly linked with Tepotzotlán several times in text in such a way as to make it clear that it was written in that village.<sup>2</sup> The text deals with the boundaries of the pueblo and the delineation of the lands owned by the townspeople of Tepotzotlán.

### TEPOTZOTLÁN

Tepotzotlán is today a small unimportant village in the State of Mexico, 33 kilometres northwest of Mexico City.<sup>3</sup> It is a *municipio* and the *cabecera* or main town of the *municipalidad*

<sup>1</sup> Mexican MS. 1, six folios, 27.3 × 21.5 cm., *amatl* paper.

<sup>2</sup> Fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 1<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>, and 6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoria de la administración pública del estado de México* (Toluca, 1893), p. 219. It lies at 19° 43' north latitude and 99° 14' west of Greenwich at an elevation of 2,450 metres above sea level. See Salvador Sánchez Colín, *El Estado de México* (Mexico, 1951), i. 90.

of the same name surrounding it. Tepotzotlán depends in turn upon Cuautitlán, administrative centre of the district in which it is located. In the late nineteenth century Tepotzotlán had a population of only 1,127 and the municipalidad had a population of 5,351.<sup>1</sup> The main occupation of the inhabitants of both the municipio and the municipalidad is agriculture. The climate is that of the Central Valley of Mexico, temperate with a rainy season in the summer months.

The only attraction of Tepotzotlán to the traveller in Mexico today is the magnificent church and buildings of the Jesuit Seminary dominating the main plaza of the town.<sup>2</sup> These buildings are high points in the late baroque style of Mexican Colonial architecture.

The main native language of the inhabitants was probably Otomí, although Náhuatl was also spoken.<sup>3</sup> In the Pre-Conquest Period Náhuatl was the *lingua franca* of the Aztec domains, not only for purposes of administrating the Empire but also as a vehicle of communication among peoples who did not speak a common native tongue. It was also used frequently for place names of pueblos that did not speak the language. Thus Tepotzotlán comes from the Náhuatl *Tepotzo-*, hunchback, and *-tlan*, place of.<sup>4</sup> Mr. McAfee translates this as "Hunchbaxton" in our Appendix, taking advantage of the ease with which Náhuatl place names can be anglicized.

During the Colonial Period Spanish usurped the role of Náhuatl as *lingua franca*, but still the viceregal courts recognized Náhuatl as the most important Indian language in most of Mexico and the court used an interpreter, called a *nahuatlato*, when necessary. In some cases, Indians who did not speak Náhuatl

<sup>1</sup> *Memoria*, pp. 55-6. In the census of 1940 it had 1,378, the municipalidad 7,879 (Sánchez Colín, chart between pp. 120-1). In 1950 the municipalidad had risen to 10,703 (loc. cit. chart between pp. 136-7).

<sup>2</sup> There is a fine monograph on the Jesuit buildings at Tepotzotlán which also includes a brief history of the town. See Pablo C. de Gante, *Tepotzotlán, su historia y sus tesoros artísticos* (Mexico, 1958).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 23 ff., esp. p. 39. See also Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia en México* (Mexico, 1946), ii. 375, where he mentions Mazahua as well as Otomí being taught at the Seminary of Tepotzotlán, quoting from Avellaneda, a Jesuit writing in 1592.

<sup>4</sup> The English translation would thus be "Place of the Hunchback".

would have to use two interpreters, the first from their own language into Náhuatl, and then the nahuatlato translated into Spanish. Thus the fact that Otomí was the important language of Tepotzotlán but the codex from Tepotzotlán was written in Náhuatl is not a disturbing factor. Since the manuscript is clearly a legal document, Náhuatl was a more effective vehicle than Otomí would have been.

### THE TEXT

The text of the Rylands manuscript is very specific.<sup>1</sup> The date May 10, [1]534 appears on the first page (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>), and then the scribe lists the name of the official drawing up the document and cites the Viceroy Mendoza as a witness (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>). The purpose of the document was to preserve for posterity the layout of the town, and it was realized in the town hall at a meeting of the townspeople (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>). The boundary of the town is traced point by point the way a surveyor might record it (fols. 3<sup>r</sup> and 3<sup>v</sup>). An all too brief resumé of Pre-Hispanic history follows, listing the name of the first ruler Cuaunochtzin (fol. 4<sup>r</sup>). A formal statement says this town charter is meant to be binding forever in the name of the king (of Spain) (fols. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>). The last pages have the signatures of those drawing up the document (fols. 5<sup>v</sup> and 6<sup>r</sup>).

Interesting for the historian is the name of the founder of the dynasty ruling Tepotzotlán and the fact that this account shows the ruler in the early sixteenth century to have had the same family name although he has added to it a suitable Spanish and Christian name; he is now Don Bartolomé de la Cruz Cuaunochtzin, i.e. Sir Bartholomew-of-the-Cross Eagle Heart.

### THE TECHIALOYAN CODICES

The Rylands manuscript belongs to a group of Mexican Colonial manuscripts called the Techialoyan Codices. They are so close in many ways that one can postulate their all having been made by the same scribe and artist or at least by ones working so much in the same tradition as to constitute a single

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix for transcription and translation prepared by Mr. Byron McAfee of Mexico City.

school. This relationship between the artists of the Techialoyan codices was first noticed by Gómez de Orozco in an article publishing several of them for the first time and pointing out their similarities.<sup>1</sup> The late Robert Barlow continued the work of Gómez de Orozco and began cataloguing them, using a different letter of the alphabet for each successive codex he added to the group, calling them all The Techialoyan Codices. He named the group after the Codex of San Antonio Techialoyan to which he gave the letter "A".<sup>2</sup> In a later article Gómez de Orozco continued the Barlow catalogue, adding others that Barlow had not published. The latest addition that this author knows is "W", given to one in the catalogue of the Parke-Bernet auction house in New York.<sup>3</sup> Alcina Franch and Carrera Stampa have published only parts of the catalogue. Neither has made original contributions over and above the second Gómez de Orozco article.<sup>4</sup> In my recently published study of Mexican manuscript painting, I devoted a chapter to their artistic style alone.<sup>5</sup>

The first publication of a Techialoyan text was the Codex of San Antonio Techialoyan by Chimalpopoca, and the first publication reproducing the pictorial content of a Techialoyan codex was the Codex of Zempoala by Quaritch, the London book

<sup>1</sup> Federico Gómez de Orozco, "El Códice de San Antonio Techialoyan", *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, IV (Mexico, 1933), Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 311-32, 42 plates.

<sup>2</sup> Robert H. Barlow, "The Techialoyan Codices: Codex H", *Tlalocan* (Sacramento, California, 1943), Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 161-2.

<sup>3</sup> Federico Gómez de Orozco, "La Pintura indoeuropea de los códices Techialoyan", *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico, 1948), Vol. 4, No. 16, pp. 57-67, 11 plates. Techialoyan W appeared in Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., Sale No. 1787, New York, 1957, p. 6, no. 18.

<sup>4</sup> José Alcina Franch, "Fuentes indígenas de Méjico: ensayo de sistematización bibliográfica", *Revista de Indias* (Madrid, 1955), Nos. 61-2, pp. 428, 464-71, figs. 9-10; see also his *Fuentes indígenas de Méjico: ensayo de sistematización bibliográfica* (Madrid, 1956), pp. 12, 48-55, figs. 9-10. Manuel Carrera Stampa, "Fuentes para el estudio de la historia indígena", in *Esplendor del México antiguo* (Mexico, 1959), pp. 1109-96, esp. 1132-4.

<sup>5</sup> Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools* (Yale Historical Publications: History of Art 12, New Haven, 1959), pp. 190-5, 197. Chapter 11, "The Techialoyan Codices", is a study of the artistic style and not of the text, so the Rylands manuscript was only mentioned in passing, p. 190.

dealer.<sup>1</sup> The first mention of them in the literature is in the eighteenth-century Boturini catalogue.<sup>2</sup>

Boturini was a collector of manuscripts and books on the history of Mexico.<sup>3</sup> He formed his collection because of his interest in the Virgin of Gaudalupe, whom he wished to have crowned. His collection was that of an historian seeking to establish the historicity of the miraculous apparition of the Virgin on the Hill of Tepeyac, north of Mexico City. Boturini solicited and acquired money and jewels to effect the coronation but ran foul of the Viceroy Fuenclara defending the rights of the Spanish crown over religious affairs in the colony. As a result of the Viceroy's orders, he was imprisoned and his collection sequestered. It has been catalogued many times, he himself publishing the first catalogue in 1746.<sup>4</sup> The subsequent vicissitudes of this collection do not concern us except that part of it was bought in Mexico in the nineteenth century and passed to France as the Aubin collection. Ultimately most of the Aubin material came to the Bibliothèque Nationale as the Goupil bequest.<sup>5</sup>

What characteristics do these manuscripts which have been grouped together have in common, and how does the Rylands manuscript fit into the grouping? In the first place they are all painted on amatl paper, the native Indian paper made from the bark of the Mexican fig tree.<sup>6</sup> They all also use unlinked lower-case letters and are written in Náhuatl. The text typically deals with the history and land boundaries of the homonymous

<sup>1</sup> Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, "Fragmento de los títulos de San Antonio La Isla", in *Memoria*, pp. 567-8 (incomplete Spanish translation). *Mexican Picture-chronicle of Cempoallan [sic] and Other States of the Empire of Aculhuacan*, Bernard Quaritch, ed., London, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, *Catálogo del museo histórico indiano*, bound in his *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América septentrional* (Madrid, 1746).

<sup>3</sup> For the biography of Boturini see Eugène Boban, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique* (Paris, 1891), i. 33-51.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>5</sup> See Boban, i. pp. vii-viii.

<sup>6</sup> Hans Lenz, "Las Fibras y las plantas del papel indígena mexicano", *Cuadernos americanos* (Mexico, 1949), Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 157-69, esp. p. 163. Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen, *La Fabricación del papel entre los Aztecas y los Mayas*, with prologue by Alfonso Caso (Mexico, 1945).



pueblo. They are all made in the format of the European book, sewn at the spine or show evidences of having been part of such a book with a few exceptions. The main exception is the Codex García Granados, Techialoyan Codex Q, now in the National Museum in Mexico City. This has a written text dealing with claims to land and is essentially a genealogical cactus (instead of a genealogical tree) of the native nobility and kings of Mexico; it is in the form of a *tira* or long strip rather than of a book.<sup>1</sup> Another exception is a map in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America in New York City.<sup>2</sup> This map is without a long written text but uses the same paper as others in the group and the same handwriting where writing is used to gloss the map.

In the typical Techialoyan codex, the written text is supplemented by a pictorial component lacking in the Rylands manuscript. For purposes of analysis we can say that both the written and the pictorial components cover the same material: (1) Pre-Conquest history with either a picture of the native ancestors of the ruling dynasty or even a family tree (cactus); (2) Early Colonial history with the civil and religious *entradas* or entrance of Spanish soldiers and clergy into the village; (3) The lands owned by the villagers consisting of both subject *barrios* or wards and individual fields.

One of the Techialoyan manuscripts, Codex C from San Pedro Quauhimalpan, has been studied in detail.<sup>3</sup> It has been proved to be accurate where it describes lands and fields when checked against the present-day names of the same places. The study of Quauhimalpan shows that under rigorous analysis this manuscript is extremely accurate. We can assume that the

<sup>1</sup> Robert H. Barlow, "Los Caciques precortesianos de Tlatelolco en el Códice García Granados (Techialoyan Q)", *Memorias de la Academia mexicana de la historia* (Mexico, 1945), Vol. 4, No. 4, Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos, No. 6, VII, pp. 467-83, 6 plates, 4 figs. See also Robert H. Barlow, "El Reverso del Códice García Granados", *Memorias de la Academia mexicana de la historia* (Mexico, 1946), Vol. 5, No. 4, Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos, No. 8, IV, pp. 422-38, 6 plates, 1 fig.

<sup>2</sup> Codex Kaska, Vol. 1, Document 3 (uncatalogued).

<sup>3</sup> Oscar Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians, State of Oaxaca, Mexico* (University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 4, Berkeley, California, 1930), pp. 81-3, fig. 7, plates 42-6.

others are equally accurate in their description and depiction of their respective villages.

### THE PICTORIAL COMPONENT

The handwriting of the various examples is similar. The differences from manuscript to manuscript are the differences one might expect to find in the handwriting of a single individual when he is writing in a large or small hand, carefully or hurriedly, when writing one year or several years later. Similarity of handwriting is paralleled by even closer similarity in the style of the paintings. They all use a heavy but expressive line to delineate form amazingly well considering the coarseness and fibrous quality of the paper. In all colour is applied within dark linear frameworks but in such a way as to suggest light and shade modelling three-dimensional forms. The human figure is shown in three-quarter view, seated, standing, in white tunic-like garments for Colonial figures or in skin garments for the Pre-Hispanic figures. Houses and churches are drawn in a primitive convention suggesting perspective but a perspective not completely under the control of the artist. In addition to human figures and architectural forms, there is a large range of plant life such as maguey, palms, and pine trees ; they also show animals such as deer and birds. Hills, wildernesses, lakes, rivers and roads are among the geographical forms that appear from time to time.

We can postulate what the missing pictorial component of the Rylands manuscript would be like on the basis of others in the group. It would show in the beginning a figure or figures of Pre-Hispanic rulers and conquerors of Tepotzotlán and possibly even a genealogical tree (cactus) of the ruling family. It might show the first Spanish to enter the town dressed in steel armour, although this particular illustration is rare. It would also show the first Christian clergy entering the town and possibly they would have with them on a wooden platform the image of the patron saint of the town (St. Martin for Tepotzotlán). These pictures would be followed, page by page, by pictures of the barrios or dependent villages and of individual fields with their names glossed.

There is such a complementary manuscript in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago. It is the manuscript called "Fragment of a Village Book", Techialoyan Codex P.<sup>1</sup> The Ayer manuscript says on folio 6<sup>v</sup> for instance, "yxtlahuacan tepotzotecatl", which Barlow has translated, "plain of the Tepotzotecos" (i.e. people of Tepotzotlán).<sup>2</sup> Other place names from the vicinity of Tepotzotlán are to be found in sufficient number to warrant Barlow's assumption that the Chicago manuscript came from this area.

We can thus postulate that the Rylands manuscript is the missing written text of the Chicago manuscript. We phrase it this way rather than saying the Chicago one is the missing pictorial component of the Rylands manuscript, since the Chicago one is known to the literature and the Rylands one until now was not known.<sup>3</sup> The link between the Rylands and Chicago manuscripts established, we can turn our attention to a statement of Barlow's linking the Chicago manuscript with one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which he called Techialoyan Codex T.<sup>4</sup> The Paris manuscript, Mexican No. 81, "Fragment d'histoire Chichimèque", was catalogued by Boban. Its pedigree takes it back through the Goupil and Aubin Collections and ultimately to the Boturini catalogue.<sup>5</sup> This fragment seems

<sup>1</sup> Ruth Lapham Butler, ed., *A Checklist of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library* (Chicago, 1937), p. 188, no. 1479.

<sup>2</sup> Robert H. Barlow, "The Techialoyan Codices: Códice P (Codex from the Vicinity of Tepotzotlán, Mex.)", *Tlalocan* (Azcapotzalco, Mexico, 1949), Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> It was first called to my attention during the summer of 1958 by Mr. Byron McAfee who showed me at that time the transcription and translation herein published as an Appendix. Mr. McAfee heard of the manuscript from Mr. W. H. Fellowes of Beaconsfield, Bucks. Mr. Fellowes, so far as we know, was the first scholar to attempt a translation and elicited the one we publish from Mr. McAfee through correspondence. Mr. Fellowes is also the only nahuatlato in the British Isles to our knowledge.

<sup>4</sup> Barlow, "The Techialoyan Codices: Códice P . . .", p. 83. "Judged from any point of view, the Tepotzotlán and present codices would fit together nicely. It remains to be seen just how closely they really are linked." See Boban, ii. 208-9.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 208; "Manuscript figuratif original sur papier indigène d'agave mexicana [sic], composé de neuf feuilles, 18 pages, ployées comme un livre, écrites et peintes au recto et au verso . . . le guerrier peint sur la première page porte le nom de Xolotl . . .". Boturini, *Catálogo*, § Historia Chichimeca, III, 2.

to be another part of the missing pictorial component. It includes the Pre-Hispanic history section, for it shows the "Emperor Xolotl" on its first folio.

We can test the assumption that the Rylands manuscript and Codices T and P belong together by noticing that the dimensions of the three are close enough to link them rather than to indicate they could not have been parts of the same manuscript. The Rylands manuscript is 27.3 by 21.5 centimetres; the Paris Codex T is 28 by 25 centimetres, and the Chicago Codex P is 26.7 by 24.5 centimetres. The differences are more apparent than real, since the paper of the Techialoyan Codices is so rough and irregular that measuring them accurately is difficult. Bound examples are invariably trimmed, and even some unbound ones have the pages evened by trimming.

The question of how the single manuscript came to be divided into three parts is answered by the story of how Aubin took his collection out of Mexico when he returned to France. According to Boban, who knew him personally and was the cataloguer of his collection after it passed to Goupil, Aubin's manuscripts were disassembled and mixed *pêle-mêle* in order to pass the customs officials at Vera Cruz as things of no importance.<sup>1</sup> This was done to evade the Mexican law forbidding the exportation of such relics of the Mexican past. We can thus assume that the Paris fragment stayed in the collection from Aubin to Goupil to the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Chicago fragment is a little more difficult, but the Newberry Library reports that it was bought by Ayer from Charles Chadenat, a Paris dealer about 1912. Where it was between the time it left the Aubin collection and when the dealer got it, we do not know. The Rylands fragment has the book plate or label of E. Boban on the inner back cover. This would indicate that it went from Aubin to Boban (as a gift?), from Boban to one Branford, to the Bibliotheca Lindesiana of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, to the Rylands Library in 1901. All three fragments in other words can be traced with differing degrees of certainty back to the Aubin collection, or at least to Paris.

The reconstituted manuscript, however, can be traced further

<sup>1</sup> Boban, i. 13-15.

back in time, for it is probably the one mentioned in the Boturini catalogue as a quarto having twenty-five folios (i.e. Paris, 9; Chicago, 10; Rylands, 6) showing a picture of the Emperor Xolotl on the front page and dealing with the affairs of Tepotzotlán written in Náhuatl.<sup>1</sup> If this supposition be true, the manuscript when Boturini had it began with what is now the Paris fragment, and the Emperor Xolotl was as it were the frontispiece. Possibly the Chicago fragment came next, since it is quite common for the written text (Rylands fragment) and page of signatures to come at the end. We have now reconstructed the original Techialoyan Codex. We shall name the Rylands fragment Techialoyan X, since, as we have noted above, the last letter assigned in the literature was "W".<sup>2</sup> Thus Techialoyan Codices T, P, and X are three component parts of a single manuscript.

### THE DATE OF CODEX X

There should be little question about the date of Codex X of Tepotzotlán, since it is explicitly dated on folio 1<sup>r</sup>, May 10, [1]534. There are serious reasons, however, why we should question this date. The text says, "... I am handling the taxes under the government of His Excellency the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who came here . . .". This is an obvious anachronism, since the Viceroy Mendoza was not appointed to his office until 17 April 1535, and the fleet conveying him to Mexico only reached Vera Cruz in early October 1535.<sup>3</sup> It is almost inconceivable that such an error would have been made in an official, legal document unless the document was drawn up sufficiently later than the event so that the persons drawing it up would have been hazy on such an important date. There are

<sup>1</sup> Boturini, loc. cit. "Otro mapa en papel Indiano, encuadernado á manera de libro en 4. de 25 fojas. Lleva por principio la Imágen del Emperador 'Xolotl', y otros figuras de señores, y cifras de lugares, tratando expreso de la provincia de 'Tepotzotlán' . . ."

<sup>2</sup> See note 3, p. 112 above.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham, North Carolina, 1927), pp. 34 and 41-2. Aiton notes that we are not certain of the exact day Mendoza entered Mexico City but that it was between 12 and 17 November. He proposes 14 November 1535, as the probable date.



several such chronological errors in the Techialoyan codices; one this author is familiar with is in the Techialoyan codex from San Francisco Xonacatlán in the Library of the Middle American Research Institute of Tulane University. This one has the Viceroy Mendoza visiting Xonacatlán in 1528, seven years before he was appointed! In addition to the anachronisms, we can seriously doubt that the Viceroy of New Spain ever visited such small and unimportant villages as Xonacatlán and Tepotzotlán at all during his reign.

The Tepotzotlán manuscript is signed by Indians who also have Christian and Spanish names, yet the Christian religious history of Tepotzotlán does not begin until 1555 when the first chapel was built in the town.<sup>1</sup> Prior to that it had been visited from time to time by priests but mainly with the intention of destroying idols and other relics of its pagan past. Even when the chapel was built, it was still merely visited from the main *convento* or monastery of Cuautitlán, then as now the chief town of the district. It would be most unusual to find the high degree of conversion to Christianity the manuscript describes both in the names of persons and of places before it was even visited by the Franciscans. One can mention in passing that it became a Jesuit town in 1580, when the Jesuits moved in.<sup>2</sup> They began the Seminary then and set about learning the native tongue from the Indians of the vicinity.

Study of the Chicago fragment, one of the two pictorial parts of the manuscript, shows other anachronisms mitigating against the early date, substantiated in the Paris fragment. The Indian noblemen, for instance, are shown with beards. The bearded male Indian is a mark of the mixing of the races, since the pure Indians were either beardless or their beards were so sparse as to be plucked out, not cultivated. The bearded Indian then represents a *mestizo* or person of mixed blood. This would mean

<sup>1</sup> Gante, pp. 25-6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 27 quotes a document drawn up by the Indians requesting the Jesuits to stay in Tepotzotlán, when there was the possibility they would leave. In this document, signed in 1582, the name of the governor of the pueblo was Don Martín Maldonado and not a member of the Cuaunochtzin family. Does this mean a change in dynasty, a change in family name from an Indian one to a Spanish one, or does it indicate an error in the Techialoyan document?

a point one or more generations after the Spanish Conquest of Mexico in 1521, sufficient time for the native nobility to have intermarried with the Spaniards and raised mestizo or mixed offspring. A *terminus post quem* would then be c. 1541 or 1561, both dates later than the 1534 of the manuscript.

There is still another important anachronism, the costume of the Indian noblemen in the various manuscripts. They are all shown wearing clothing similar to the antique tunic. In the Pre-Hispanic period they would have worn a loin cloth and on state occasions or in cold weather a cape tied over one shoulder. The ordinary Indian garb of the Early Colonial period would be either the loin cloth or white shirt and trousers, still the standard for Mexican Indians. The noblemen of the Early Colonial period would wear clothes as close to Spanish dress as possible if not native clothing. In any event, the costume in the Techialoyan manuscript is aberrant.<sup>1</sup>

Another odd item for these codices supposedly drawn up in the sixteenth century by Indians is the almost total lack of signs—the “hieroglyphs” of native “writing”. These forms are common in manuscripts made as late as 1600. They are a hallmark of manuscripts coming from the native ambient but lacking in documents made by and for exclusive Spanish use. They are standardized shapes and forms not so specific as the written word but more than merely mnemonic devices. Each place has its own form, somewhat like a coat-of-arms, and individuals, too, had their name signs or glyphs. Thus, in the Rylands manuscript, or at least in its two related fragments, we should expect the sign for Tepotzotlán or the sign for Cuaunochtzin and other signs for persons and places. It is inconceivable that a document written within thirteen years of the Conquest should be without personal or place name signs. In the Techialoyan codices the sign has abdicated its role, and the written word has taken its place.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note for the sake of completeness that the costume of Indian women is more accurate for the sixteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> In my previous study of Mexican manuscript painting I pointed out other reasons, on the basis of artistic style, why the Techialoyan Codices were not sixteenth century but probably as late as the eighteenth century. See note 5, p. 112 above.

The evidence we have presented that these manuscripts are forgeries calls for a definition of the motive of the forger or forgers and the date of the forgery. We are in a position by now to say they were made for use in land litigation in the viceregal courts. The litigation might have involved Indians attempting to regain land taken by Spaniards from the pueblo;<sup>1</sup> it may be Indians attempting to encroach upon lands legitimately held by Spaniards, or it may be one Indian village disputing rights to land with another village. It is interesting to note here that the Codex of Quauhimalpan was discovered by Schmieder in the Mexican national archives in the section devoted to *Tierras* or land litigation.<sup>2</sup>

The sixteenth century in Mexico is not the period when such land suits were most actively pursued. During this period the pueblos were assigned to Spaniards under the system called *encomienda*, the Spaniard being an *encomendero*.<sup>3</sup> The pueblo had to pay tribute to the Spaniard who was not in the juridical sense a landowner. It was the responsibility of the pueblo to produce and to turn over a share of its production to the *encomendero*. Under this system the *encomendero* received greater benefit if the lands of the pueblo were large and its agriculture prosperous. Later in the Colonial period when the Spaniards became actual landowners and the Indians of the pueblo merely a source of cheap labour, it was to the advantage of the Spaniards to have large holdings of the most fertile land even if this meant appropriating the land from the nearby Indian pueblo.<sup>4</sup> With the

<sup>1</sup> There is an example of Indians having used a Techialoyan codex against a hacienda in the New York Public Library. The Codex of Santa María Ocelotepec has a slip of European paper bound in with it saying the Indians of Miacatlán used the codex in a brief against the hacienda (not named) in 1795. See Robertson, p. 194, for the complete text and translation.

<sup>2</sup> Schmieder, p. 168, plate 42, where it is labeled, "Original in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Tierras, vol. 3684".

<sup>3</sup> For general discussions of the *encomienda* system see Silvio A. Zavala, *La Encomienda indiana* (Centro de estudios históricos: sección hispanoamericana, Vol. 2, Madrid, 1935) and his *De Encomiendas y propiedad territorial en algunas regiones de la América española* (Mexico, 1940).

<sup>4</sup> François Chevalier, "La Formación de los grandes latifundios en México (tierra y sociedad en los siglos XVI y XVII)". *Problemas agrícolas e industriales de México* (Mexico, 1956), Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 1-258.

change from *encomienda* to the accumulation of large Spanish-owned estates or *haciendas* pressure on the Indians' land mounted. It is during this period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that litigation over land mounted in tempo.

At the present time, however, we cannot say when during the periods of Spanish hacienda and *latifundio* growth the Techialoyan group was forged. We can make positive statements, however, about a *terminus ante quem* date. The Rylands manuscript must have been made before Boturini published his catalogue, since we have already shown Techialoyan T, P and X are recorded in his printed catalogue of 1746. This date can be pushed further back in time, since Boturini was incarcerated by the Viceroyalty in 1743 and thus must have ceased his manuscript collecting endeavours at that time. We can assume that Boturini, as an astute collector, would not have been taken in by a newly made forgery and thus they must have been old by his time. If we allow ten years as a minimal time for ageing, this would date them 1733 or earlier, as a guess. Such a date early in the eighteenth century would be more compatible with the artistic style of the paintings and also with the statement of Barlow's that some of the persons recorded in the genealogy of García Granados, Techialoyan Codex Q, lived as much as six generations after the Conquest of 1521.<sup>1</sup> Counting twenty years to a generation, this would be 120 years or 1641. If one counts an average of twenty-five years to a generation, it would mean the manuscript was painted as late as 1671. Barlow also mentioned the possibility that Codex Q was written a century and a half after Codex E, which he dated c. 1530, that is to say 1680.<sup>2</sup> We have more information on which to base our conclusions than Barlow had because of a detailed study from the point of view of a sceptic; this scepticism comes from a previous study of the artistic style of the Techialoyan group. We postulate the date of these manuscripts somewhat later than the late date he refused to accept even though he first made us aware of it. It is truly remarkable that this fine scholar never seems to have questioned the early sixteenth-century date of any Techialoyan codex except Q, and

<sup>1</sup> Barlow, "Los Caciques precortesianos . . .", pp. 467-8.

<sup>2</sup> Barlow, "El Reverso del Códice García Granados", p. 434, note 16.





ax can y ran yn ca zi yul  
mol da ya eloxi atl y eot  
ze na ic a na poa me zi li tem  
yo y ra ma na la y ul  
yul xi bi yul y ul a  
sen ho : ni y ran ma  
y ul ri a ti y zi an gn  
ri a ti y zi an ma na  
y ul ran na zi y xi zi  
y ul ni can y ran y ul  
a ki re i re ho na ne

even then he did not realize that it automatically cast doubt on all the others.

We can conclude this study of the Rylands manuscript, the Techialoyan Codex of Tepotzotlán, Codex X, by noting it has added to our knowledge of the Techialoyan Codices in general as well as placing the specific work in a proper relation with its two complementary parts. It has enabled us to reduce even further the limits to the period of time during which the Techialoyan forgeries were fabricated. We can now hypothesize a date after 1640-80 and before c. 1733 and hope that in the future a way will be found further to limit this time span or perhaps even define more precisely the time they were made and the specific factors in Colonial life calling them forth.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX

### TEXT AND INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION,

John Rylands Library Mexican Manuscript No. 1

By BYRON McAFEE

The text printed here is a transcription made by Mr. Byron McAfee of Mexico City. It is not a letter by letter transcription, as comparison of the original document with this transcription will show; orthographic changes are Mr. McAfee's. The translation is presented interlinearly with the text phrase by phrase. Foliation is indicated above the first word of the text.

Folio 1<sup>r</sup>

Axcaan, ipan in cahuitl mo'ljuia Toxcatl,

This day, in the month named Drouth,

ic oc se tla'jtoll

[which] in the other language

tla poah meetztli te mayo ipan matlac iljuitl,

they count as the month of May, on the tenth day of

xihuitl i tla poal

the year number

<sup>1</sup> I am currently gathering material for compiling a catalogue of all Techialoyan Codices building upon the work of Gómez de Orozco and Barlow. I would be glad to hear about any that are not generally known in the literature.

cen tzontli ipan macuil poalli ihuan cem poalli  
[one thousand] four hundred plus one hundred and twenty

ihuan majtlaclitl ipan nahui xihuitl nicaan, ipan in in al tepetl  
and ten, plus four years [1534], here, in this city of

Folio 1<sup>v</sup>

Tepotzyoj-tlaan, ne/juatl, Ton Paltolomé  
Hunchbaxton [Tepotztotlán], I, Don Bartolomé  
te la Clox, Cuaouj nochtzin,  
de la Cruz, Eagle Heart,

axcaan nicaan, i ijtec in in tecpan calli, tla tzon tecoyaan,  
now and here, in this town hall and courthouse,

nicaan nic tequi pano toc tequitl in ipan i tla'jtocayo  
where here I am handling the taxes under the government of  
in yejuatzin  
His Excellency,

Huei Tzon tecomatl, Ton Antonio te Mentoza,  
the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Folio 2<sup>r</sup>  
caa 'n iz o hu/al mo huicac,  
who came here,

o ti to cen ne-chicojqueh, nejuatl Copelnatol,  
we assembled I, the Governor [i.e., the native mayor]

ihuan moch-intin tequihuaqueh, al tepehuaqueh,  
and all the officials and citizens,  
o ti macoqueh,  
there having been given

o tech mo maquilij in i huelitiliztzin in in to huei tla'jtocauj  
delegated to us his authority by our Viceroy,

ic 'n iz o qui mo'ttilico, o qui mo nemililico in ic iez in in  
who came here to see and think out the future of this,

Folio 2<sup>v</sup>

to huei al-tepeuj Tepotztzojtlaan./ Caa axcaan,  
 our city of Hunchbaxton [Tepotztotlán]. Now, then,  
 ipan in in cahuitl,  
 at this time,

in o mo ten eujquej tlaxilacalmeh, caa moch iz nez t oc  
 the aforementioned districts all lie and appear here,

'n iz tic tlil machiotiaj  
 here we show them here in black [and white]  
 ipampa cem ijcac nez t iez  
 so that there shall always appear

machizti t iez, in ic o mo man  
 and be of record the integrants in the laying out of  
 o mo ten euj in in al tepetl  
 this aforesaid town of

Tepotzyojtlaan. caa yejua in-in i tzin peujca.  
 Hunchbaxton [Tepotztotlán], for this is its beginning.

Axcaan nicaan,  
 Now and here,

i ijtec in in to tecpan chaan, o ne cen tlaliloc,  
 in this town hall of ours, there was a meeting,  
 o mo cen ne-chicojquej  
 an assembly of

Folio 3<sup>r</sup>

moch-intin al-tepe tlaacah,/ caa nel huei in in-ic  
 all the townsmen, for it is indeed with great [solemnity]

ti to tla tilanaltiah. Nejnemi coaxochtli : On ajci inahuac  
 that we make the survey. Boundary runs : From near

Huei Tollaán al tepetl, on tlejco  
 the town of Big Reedville, upwards  
 ic tepe xic a tenco,  
 along the edge of the waters of the highland lake,

on hual mo cuepa Iczo callaan  
and back to Palm Houston,  
te t icpac nejnemi coaxochtli,  
the boundary runs along the rocky divide,

i melahuayan ín tlaal      Xiquipilca tlaacah,  
straight on by the lands of the people of Bagville.

on ajci in nahuac Cuauj-tenco tlaacah cuau ijtec  
up to the Woodsiders, and within the forest  
mo ten ehua/  
the so-called

Folio 3<sup>v</sup>

Cuaujhuajcaan Atl i quizayan.  
Foresters' Brook.

Ye 'n iz o tech mo tlacuauij nahuatiliij  
We were here strictly enjoined by

in to huei tla'jtocatzin mo yec tlaiz,  
our Viceroy to see to the proper location,  
mo yec chijchihuaz,  
rectification

mo yec cohitiz in atl i ojhui,  
and channeling of the watercourses,  
caa nel i-palehuiloca  
which are indeed a great benefit

Folio 4<sup>r</sup>

in in to al-tepeuj. Ihuan moch-intin in macehu/aljuan  
to this town of ours. And all the serfs of the

in tla cal aquijqueh, 'n iz mo poaj  
taxpayers, are here enumerated,  
ic mo palehuizquej  
being the assistance to them



qu'ixtlahuazquej in i tla cal aquiltzin to tla'jtocauj ;  
toward payment of the taxes to our ruler ;

ihuan caa nel to-coljuan, yejuan oc achto o qui nemilijueh,  
also our real ancestors, the men who first planned

in o qu'ihua t ojhuittijueh, in ipan in i tla'jtocayo  
and suffered the hardships of pioneering, during the reign of

Folio 4<sup>r</sup>

Huei Pilli Cuaouj nochtzin ; 'n iz on mo tlaaca xinachyotzino/tiah.  
the great lord Eagle Heart ; here the settlers started multiplying.

An in ic cem ijcac nez t oz, machtizti t iez,  
And so that it may always appear and be of record,  
'n iz tic tlil machiotiaj  
we here engross

in in al-tepe amatl, ipampa cem ijcac mo piez,  
this town charter, so that it may be always kept  
qui tepotz tocazquej  
and observed by

in tee piljuan, in al-tepehuajquej in aquiiquej qui chihuazqueh  
the townspeople, the citizens who are to do

qui tequi panozquej tequitl. Nicaan qu'ittazqueh,/  
and perform public official labour. Here they will see

Folio 5<sup>r</sup>

qui tepotz tocazqueh, caa 'n iz nez t oc  
and be guided by it [*lit.* follow it], for here lie and appear

moch in tle-in i axca in in huei al-tepetl  
all the properties of this city

mo ten ehua Tepotzyojtlaan,  
of the name of Hunchbaxton [Tepotzotlán],

tzon tecomatl, caa moch iz nez t oc in can-in mani  
 a county-seat, for here lie and appear the locations of  
 in to tlaxilacaljuan ;  
 our districts ;

'n iz mo poa, 'n iz tla-tilanalti ;  
 here they are enumerated, and here they are outlined ;  
 moch iz nez ti mani.  
 it is all shown here.

Au ipampa cem ijcac mo piez, axcaan,  
 And in order that it may be kept always, this day,  
 ica i tocatzin  
 in the name of

Folio 5<sup>v</sup>

in to huei tla'jtoctzin Ley, tzon/tecomatl  
 our great ruler the King, the head authority  
 (caa nic tequi pano t oc  
 (I myself handling

yancuic tequitl  
 the new taxation [includes public work]

topilli o ti macoqueh)  
 and we authorities having been duly given our staffs of office)  
 nejuatl Copelnatol  
 I, the Governor,

ihuan moch-intin tequihuaajquej 'n iz ti to til machiotiah,  
 and all the officials here set our signatures,  
 tic tlaliaj to toca.  
 affix our names.

---

Nejuatl Ton Baltolomé de la Colox, Cuaouj nochtli,  
 I, Don Bartolomé de la Cruz, Eagle Heart,

Copelnatol.  
 Governor.

Ton Miquel Cuaouj nochtzin, Alcalte.  
 Don Miguel, Eagle Heart, Mayor.

Ton Xihuan te Aquino, Alcalte.  
 Don Juan de Aquino, Mayor.

Xihuan Malcox, Lexitol.  
 Juan Marcos, Alderman.

Xihuan Felipe, Tla yaca aanqui./  
 Juan Felipe, Foreman.

Folio 6<sup>r</sup>

Ton Caxpal Cuaouj nochtli, Alcalte Xan Maltin.  
 Don Gaspar, Eagle Heart, Mayor of San Martín.

Ton Xihuan Miquel, Alcalte Xan Maltin.  
 Don Juan Miguel, Mayor of San Martín.

Xihuan te la Clox, Pixcal.  
 Juan de la Cruz, Prosecutor.

Xihuan Felipe, Tla yaca aanqui.  
 Juan Felipe, Foreman.

Xalpatol te la Clox.  
 Salvador de la Cruz.

Nejua, Ton Xihuan Coltex, Ejcatzin, tla'jcuilo  
 I, Don Juan Cortés, Wind [storm], Notary

'n iz i ijtec in in tecpan calli, ipan in in al tepetl,  
 here in this town hall, in this city of  
 Tepotzyojtlaan,  
 Hunchbaxton [Tepotzotlán],

o nitla'jcuiloh. Axcaan ipan in in cahuitl,  
 made the record. This day and at this time,  
 in tencopa moch-intin tecuyojtin  
 by order of all the authorities,

o nic chiu j no tequiuj,

I have discharged my duty,

au ipampa cem ijcac nez t oz,

and in order that it may so appear always,

'n iz ni no tlil machiotia./

I here set my hand.

Folio 6<sup>v</sup>

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## THE JOHN RYLANDS HAGGADAH

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ONE of the treasures of the John Rylands Library is an illuminated codex (Hebrew MS. 6) of the *Haggadah* or domestic service for Passover Eve (together with other liturgical materials for this season of the Jewish religious year), formerly in the collection of that great bibliophile, the twenty-fifth Earl of Crawford.<sup>1</sup> It is of importance not only for its intrinsic beauty and for various textual details, but also for the light which it throws on the history of the illumination of Hebrew manuscripts in general, and in particular on the tradition of Biblical illustration among the Jews of the Middle Ages. It is mainly in this connection that it will be considered here.

It is unnecessary to touch at present on the much-discussed problem, whether or no illuminated Hebrew manuscripts existed in classical antiquity; there is strong reason to believe that this was the case,<sup>2</sup> but no actual specimens survive. In the tenth century at the latest, richly decorated Hebrew Biblical manuscripts begin to make their appearance in the Moslem world without, however, any trace of illuminations in the stricter sense, embodying, that is, scenes with representations of the human figure; the oldest such specimens from Christian Europe now extant go back apparently only to the thirteenth, or perhaps late twelfth, century. This does not indeed imply that such

<sup>1</sup> It is referred to in the following pages (as it is generally) as *the* John Rylands Haggadah, being the most significant as well as the best known codex of this nature in the Library. There are, however, in the Rylands Library three more important illuminated Haggadah codices. Hebrew MS. 29 (fragmentary) has been ascribed to as early as the tenth century though in the opinion of the present writer it is considerably later, an archaistic style having been preserved in Jewish book-art until relatively late in the Middle Ages. For Hebrew MSS. 7 (fifteenth century) and 39 (1710) see below pages 133 and 132, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See my article "Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xvi (1953), 24-44.



productions were unknown before this period, for owing to the circumstances of Jewish history the rate of the wastage and destruction of Hebrew manuscripts was particularly high, and the technical standard and execution of the manuscripts in question suggest a lengthy anterior development.

The Passover Haggadah—a much-loved domestic ritual, not conveyed into the synagogue and not therefore subject to the same inhibitions as synagogal codices; small in bulk, and therefore lending itself to calligraphic or pictorial expansion; with a special appeal to the women-folk and the children, and not merely to the scholar piously interested in textual minutiae—was an obvious object for special embellishment. The earliest manifestations are in fragments found in the Cairo Genizah, in which the prescribed passages which speak of the Unleavened Bread and the Bitter Herb—two of the essential features of the Paschal ritual—are decorated with stylized representations of these objects. This feature henceforth became commonplace, being formally or decoratively interpreted in many other codices, whether fully illuminated or not, including that which is engaging our attention in particular here.

From this time onwards, the tradition of illuminating the Passover Haggadah developed lavishly and continuously; and after the invention of printing it was maintained in a series of finely illustrated editions produced in Prague, Mantua, Venice, Amsterdam and so on, as well as in archaistic manuscript renderings throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and down to our own day.<sup>1</sup> The number of illuminated medieval codices of the Haggadah extant, written before the sixteenth century, probably exceeds that of any other category of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts other than the Bible. They are from many countries and are in some cases wholly individual, expressing the personal inclinations of the scribe or illuminator, except in certain details (such as that mentioned above) in which tradition tended to assert itself. Thus, for example, the fifteenth-century Darmstadt Haggadah (which is available in a colour

<sup>1</sup> A particular fine instance is John Rylands Hebrew MS. 39, formerly in the Spencer Collection—an outstanding example of the craft of the well-known book-illustrator Joseph ben David Leipnick, completed at Altona (Hamburg) in 1710.

reproduction—<sup>1</sup>, one of the few Hebrew manuscripts of the Middle Ages which has been made generally accessible to study in this fashion) follows from beginning to end a style and convention of its own, and is a notable monument to the originality and ability of its creator, the scribe (who may also have been the illuminator) Israel b. Meir Jaffe of Heidelberg. The fairly considerable production of the scribe-illuminator Joel (Phoebus) ben Simeon, who worked in Germany and North Italy in the mid-fifteenth century,<sup>2</sup> shows as is to be anticipated many constant details, but these are personal rather than traditional. The charming fifteenth century Ashkenazi Haggadah in the John Rylands Library (Hebrew MS. 7) shows some affinities with his work. Certainly unique is another German Haggadah now in the Bezalel Museum, Jerusalem, in which the characters in the illuminations are shown with birds' heads (except in the case of non-Hebrews, who paradoxically are shown as normal mortals!) thus naively evading in a fashion the traditional inhibition against the representation of human beings.

Leaving such individual achievements on one side, two main groups or patterns emerge among the extant Haggadah codices of European origin—the one northern or Ashkenazi (more specifically, German), the other southern or Sephardi (more specifically, Provençal or Spanish), the John Rylands Haggadah being one of the finest examples of the second group.

The former is represented by what was once known as the Second Nuremberg Haggadah, being formerly MS. 7121 in the German National Museum in that city, but now in the Schocken Library, Jerusalem; by Cod. Heb. 1333 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and by the Yahuda Haggadah (named after the former owner) now in the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem. There are also some others (e.g. Codex de' Rossi 958 in Parma, and MS. Sassoon 511 in Letchworth) which share some of the same features, but cannot be considered as constituents of the

<sup>1</sup> *Die Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*, ed. Bruno Italianer, etc. (2 vols., Leipzig, 1927).

<sup>2</sup> See for him [or them: there may have been two illuminators of the same name, grandfather and grandson] F. Landsberger, "The Washington Haggadah and its illuminator", in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xxi (1948), 73-103, and M. Foener, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xxvii (1937), 217-32.

group. These manuscripts are illuminated in the fullest sense of the word ; that is to say, the entire text, almost from beginning to end, is accompanied by coloured drawings, mainly marginal, illustrating and elaborating the text, their significance being generally indicated by crude verses. Three distinct cycles succeed one another in the subject-matter. The first depicts the preliminary Paschal ceremonials, including the preparation of the unleavened bread ; the second illustrates the text of the Haggadah itself, together with a series of events from the career of Moses as elaborated in Jewish tradition ; the third, which covers the concluding part of the service (after the ritual meal), the matter of which is liturgical rather than narrative, illustrates the lives of the patriarchs and other Biblical figures, and ends with the coming of the Messiah. Several scenes figure consecutively round the side and bottom margins of each double page, the opening rather than the folio being the artistic unit. The execution of the work is vivacious, but not masterly ; it is folk-art, though sometimes highly sophisticated.<sup>1</sup> The conception conforms to the general tradition of Ashkenazi or German-Jewish book-art, which, not being subject to the Islamic iconoclastic influences that continued to affect Spanish Jewry even after the Islamic domination ended (as will be seen below), had largely discarded the traditional inhibitions against representational art. In these Ashkenazi Haggadahs representations of the human form appear, in fact, on almost every page.

The tradition of the group of Spanish illuminated Haggadahs which will engage us especially here is quite different. In these, the actual text tends to be decorated rather than illuminated : though text-illuminations, too, figure, in varying number, in most of these as well.<sup>2</sup> The essential illuminations on the other

<sup>1</sup> For the fullest description of the cycle cf. D. Kaufmann in *Revue des Études Juives*, xxxviii (1899), 74-102, and in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii (1915), 229-61.

<sup>2</sup> It is natural that there should have been some degree of cross-fertilization between the two traditions. Thus a Spanish Haggadah codex, formerly in the collection of the Jewish Historical-Ethnographical Society in Leningrad, obviously reproduces elements from the classical German tradition ; compare the marginal illumination of the Exodus and the angel inspiring it in this codex as reproduced in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vii, s.v. Haggada, illustration 12, and the scene from the Yahuda Haggadah in Narkiss's monograph on it (reprinted from the *Jerusalem Post*, etc., of 6 April 1944), p. 11.

hand, all or almost all illustrating the Biblical narrative, are not integrated with the text, but are comprised in panels, sometimes two to the page and sometimes four to the page (a characteristic usage which probably began in France in the late twelfth century, thence spreading elsewhere). Moreover, in the manuscripts in question these are all grouped together in the preliminary (and/or sometimes the concluding) pages. They thus constitute, as it were, a pictorial supplement quite divorced from the text artistically and only loosely connected with the subject matter.<sup>1</sup> It would be possible to remove these pages from the codices without impairing in any degree the apparent integrity of the manuscript. Indeed, there are a number of Haggadah manuscripts standing in close relation to these so far as the textual portion is concerned, which perhaps were originally provided with the supplement of illustrations, now lost.<sup>2</sup>

Of the group of manuscripts in question the following are known to me :

1. Hebrew MS. 6 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, with which we are here principally concerned.

<sup>1</sup> This system follows a convention fairly common in French codices of the thirteenth century in which the illuminations are similarly assembled at the beginning of the volume, *hors texte*, sometimes facing one another in pairs almost like diptyches. Contrary however to what might be anticipated, this follows or renews a very early convention, found for example in the sixth century "Purple Codex" of the Greek Gospels at Rossano, in which similarly almost all the pictures are in a cycle at the beginning of the manuscript, which can be "read" without the assistance of the text. (cf. A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano*, Rome, 1907). The medieval Jewish convention may conceivably therefore go back to the late Classical period.

<sup>2</sup> Illuminated Haggadahs were produced also in some outlying Jewish centres. Thus Cod. Heb. 1388 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, dated 1583 (cf. *Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxxviii. 1-26; *Revue des Études Juives*, xlv. 115 ff.) follows the Byzantine rite, is written in a Spanish hand, and is illuminated in the Italian style but according to the German tradition. Its provenance has long been inconclusively discussed, and it is definitely described as French in B. Italianer, *Die Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*, Textband, pp. 267-72. The mystery of origin is however easily solved. The scribe-illuminator(?) gives his name as Mattathias son of David Spagnuolo. Mattathias b. David Spagnuolo was Secretary of the community of Candia in 1564-7 (cf. E. S. Artom and U. Cassuto, *Statuta Iudaeorum Candiae* (Jerusalem, 1943), pp. 145 ff.). This manuscript is thus of importance as a specimen of Cretan book-art in the late Venetian period.

2. The Sarajevo Haggadah, in the National Museum, Sarajevo. This, the most famous of all illuminated Hebrew manuscripts, has been exhaustively described by D. H. Müller and J. von Schlosser in a lavishly illustrated standard work *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (2 vols., Vienna, 1898): a selection of reproductions in colour with an introduction by S. Radojčić was published in Belgrade in 1953. What will be said in the following pages will be based largely on notes made when I had the privilege of inspecting this remarkable volume during a visit to Sarajevo in October 1959.

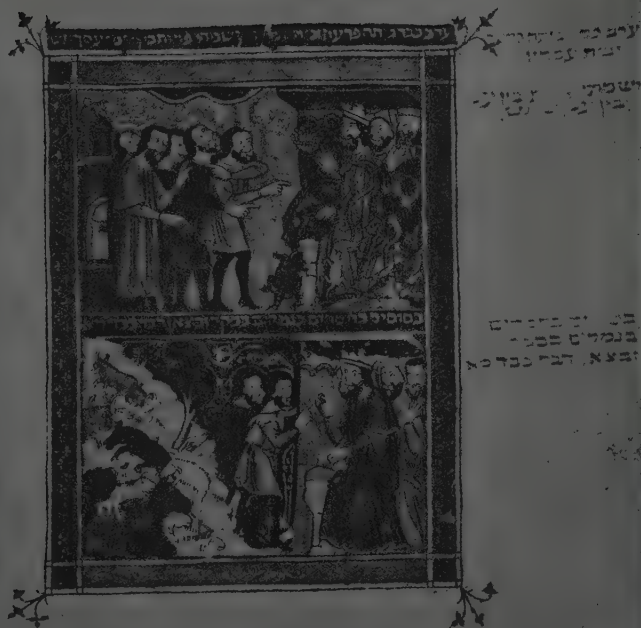
3. MS. 422 of the Kaufmann Collection in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest ("The Kaufmann Haggadah"). This has now been reproduced in colour facsimile by the publishing house of the Academy, accompanied by an erudite monograph by Alexander Scheiber (Budapest, 1957).

4. British Museum, MS. Add. 27210: cf. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. in the British Museum*, ii. 200-2 (n. 607); R. Vishnitzer (Wischnitzer-Bernstein) in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xiii. 204 ff. (as also for the manuscripts to be mentioned immediately below); and J. Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art* (London, 1944), pp. 99-104, with the four pages reproduced *ibid.*, plates xxxi and xxxii. In this magnificent manuscript, probably the finest of all in execution so far as this part is concerned, the illuminated pages which precede the text are divided into four rectangular panels, with a separate scene on gold ground on each, in a style highly reminiscent of the work of the illuminators of the thirteenth-century Paris School; they cover the Biblical history from the last day of the Creation to the Exodus. There are, however, no miniatures in the actual liturgical text.

5. British Museum, MS. Or. 2884 (*Catalogue*, ii. 197-8, n. 608). The somewhat crude Biblical illuminations on fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>, this time two to the page, similarly begin with the creation of Adam and end with the preparations for the Passover (search for and burning of leaven); there are also two full-page illuminations in the text.

6. British Museum, MS. Or. 1404 (*Catalogue*, ii. 198-200). The Biblical illuminations on fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>, two to the page, begin

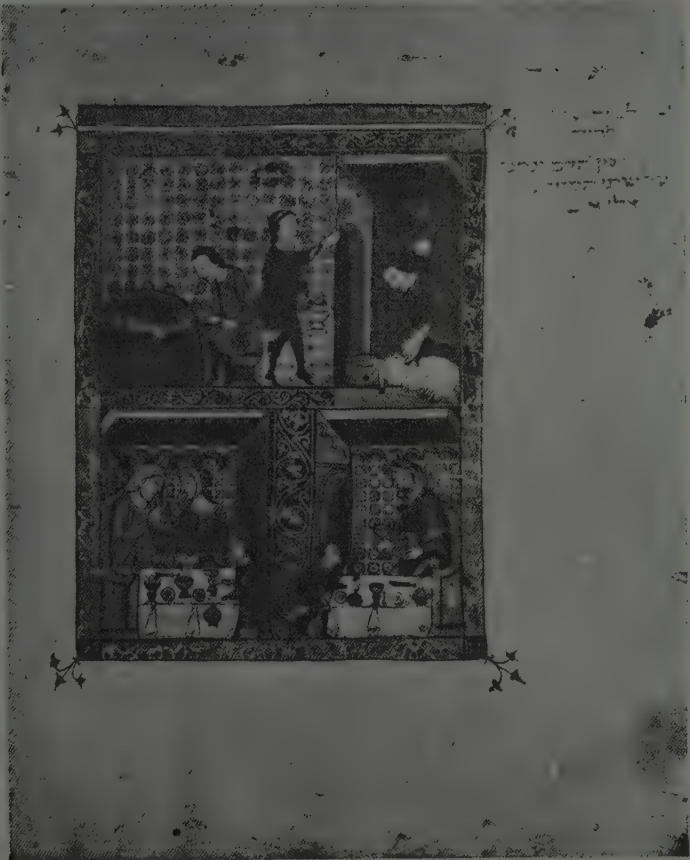




The Fourth and Fifth Plagues.  
 (Ravens Beasts and Murrain).  
 Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, fol. 16<sup>v</sup>.



The Miracle of the Red Sea.  
Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, fol. 19r.



The Observance of the Passover.  
Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, fol. 19<sup>v</sup>.



Page of *Dayyenu* Hymn.  
 Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, fol. 29v.

with Moses at the Burning Bush, and end with representations of the Passover service. This manuscript bears, as we shall see, a striking similarity in certain details (especially the preliminary illuminations) to the Rylands Haggadah, and is obviously copied from it, though not probably emanating from the same atelier.<sup>1</sup>

7. British Museum MS. Or. 2737 (*Catalogue*, ii. 200-2). In this manuscript the full-page Bible illuminations, naive but very attractive, are on fols. 62<sup>v</sup>-93<sup>v</sup>—that is, at the conclusion of the text only; they illustrate the history of the Exodus, beginning with the Egyptian bondage and ending with the preparations for the Passover, here treated in rather greater detail than in other manuscripts of the series (ten pages out of the thirty, or a third of the whole number). The last four miniatures, however, conceivably misplaced, revert to the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac. In addition, one full-page miniature and several decorations accompany the text. This manuscript is octavo and probably of the fifteenth century—in any case, somewhat later and smaller in size than the rest of the series, which it imitates at a conscious distance (particularly MS. 2884); it is, as it were, a new composite production along the old lines rather than a late work in the same tradition.

8. University of Bologna, MS. 2559 : Haggadah (incomplete) included in prayer-book : cf. Sergio J. Sierra, "Hebrew Codices with miniatures belonging to the University of Bologna", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xliii (1953), 229-43.

9. Private possession, Jerusalem (formerly collection of L. Pollack, Rome) : cf. article by M. Narkiss offprinted from *Ha-Aaretz*, 26 March 1956.

10. Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, MS. 2411 (= Codex de' Rossi, 1107) : cf. E. Munkácsi, *Miniaturművészet itália könyvtáraiban héber kódexek*, p. 71. I owe to M. M. Metzger information regarding this codex, in which (if it is complete) the illustrations are more limited in number, the old tradition having apparently waned : it is very similar in execution to B.M. MS. Or. 2884.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. H. Rosenau in her learned article on this codex in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxviii (2), 1954, to which the reader is referred for further details, appears to me to over-stress the resemblances.



Our principal interest here, however, is in the Rylands Haggadah, and before going further it is desirable to give a fuller account of it.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript is contained on 57 leaves of vellum, measuring approximately 270 mm. × 225 mm.: the preliminary Biblical illuminations are all in rectangular panels, two to the page (sometimes subdivided vertically), the illuminated area covering approximately 132 mm. × 180 mm. A Biblical verse or caption indicating the subject-matter is written in small characters in a narrow oblong panel at the top and bottom of the patterned border in which the illuminations are contained; this has been repeated by a later hand in coarse characters in the outer margin. The illuminations are in gold and colour (scarlet predominating for the costumes). Many of the text-pages, moreover, are lavishly decorated in the margins with floral motifs and drolleries—centaurs, archers, birds, animals and grotesques—in the prevailing Gothic style; these are mainly in blue, mauve and red. Throughout the manuscript, but especially in the actual Haggadah text, initial words or phrases are written, in monumental characters, in letters of burnished gold within finely ornamented panels.

The manuscript opens (like some other Spanish Haggadahs) with a series of hymns, not essentially part of the Passover Eve service.<sup>2</sup> These—which are apparently in a somewhat later hand, and have their own colophon—are decorated by panels and bands in purple and blue tracery, those in the lateral margins embodying Rabbinical texts in miniscular characters (after the manner of the so-called “Figured Masorah”).

fols. 2 <sup>r</sup> -4 <sup>v</sup>	Two Passover Eve hymns: see below.
fols. 5 <sup>v</sup> -7 <sup>v</sup>	Rhymed laws (אֲחֻזּוֹת) for the “Great Sabbath” before Passover.
fols. 8 <sup>r</sup> -10 <sup>v</sup>	Hymns (מַעֲרִיבֵית) for the evening service on Passover Eve, as in the Ashkenazi rite.

The pages entirely devoted to illuminations now follow, each divided horizontally into two panels, sometimes subdivided:

<sup>1</sup> See for a more detailed description Dr. Rosenau's article referred to above.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these, of considerable literary importance, are published by Dr. M. Wallenstein in an article in this BULLETIN.

- fol. 13<sup>v</sup> I The Burning Bush (2 scenes).  
 II Moses' rod turned into a serpent.
- fol. 14<sup>r</sup> I Moses' hand becomes leprous and is cured (2 scenes).  
 The return to Egypt.
- fol. 14<sup>v</sup> I Moses meets Aaron (2 scenes).  
 II Signs convince the Children of Israel.
- fol. 15<sup>r</sup> I Moses and Aaron appear before Pharaoh.  
 II The Oppression.
- fol. 15<sup>v</sup> I Moses and the sorcerers : his rod swallows theirs.  
 II First Plague : Blood.
- fol. 16<sup>r</sup> I Second Plague : Frogs.  
 II Third Plague : Lice.
- fol. 16<sup>v</sup> I Fourth Plague : Ravening Beasts.  
 II Fifth Plague : Murrain.
- fol. 17<sup>r</sup> I Sixth Plague : Boils.  
 II Seventh Plague : Hail.
- fol. 17<sup>v</sup> I Eighth Plague : Locusts.  
 II Ninth Plague : Darkness.
- fol. 18<sup>r</sup> I Tenth Plague : Slaying of the First-Born.  
 II The Spoiling of the Egyptians.
- fol. 18<sup>v</sup> I The Exodus.  
 II The Pursuit.
- fol. 19<sup>r</sup> The Miracle of the Red Sea.  
 The Drowning of the Egyptians.
- fol. 19<sup>v</sup> I Observance of the First Passover.  
 II (Divided vertically) Two domestic Passover scenes.

The text of the Haggadah service then begins, with frequent elaborately-decorated panels containing initial words or phrases. All illuminations are now marginal, sometimes impinging slightly on the text :

- fol. 20<sup>r</sup> A servitor pours wine (illustrating the *Kiddush* or Sanctification).  
 fol. 21<sup>v</sup> The celebrant reclining holds the basket of Unleavened Bread.  
 fol. 22<sup>r</sup> R. Eleazar.  
 fol. 23<sup>r</sup> The Wise Son.  
 The Wicked Son, presented as a Warrior. (The Simple and the Inarticulate sons mentioned in the text, usual in later Haggadahs—e.g. the Kaufmann Haggadah—are not represented here).
- fol. 28<sup>r</sup> R. Jose the Galilaean.  
 fol. 28<sup>v</sup> R. Eliezer : R. Akiba.  
 fols. 29<sup>r</sup>-30<sup>r</sup> Illuminated pages for the *Dayyenu* hymn (see below).  
 fol. 30<sup>v</sup> R. Gamaliel sitting in a canopied chair—the most prominent of the marginal figures.
- fol. 31<sup>r</sup> The Unleavened Bread (panel in the middle of the page).  
 fol. 31<sup>v</sup> The Bitter Herb (panel in the middle of the page).

With fol. 36<sup>v</sup> the Haggadah ritual ends. There now follow on fols. 37<sup>v</sup> to 53<sup>v</sup> various hymns for the synagogue service on Passover, and, on fols. 54<sup>r</sup> to 57<sup>v</sup>, the Grace after meals (omitted at its proper place in the service): at the beginning of this, on fol. 54<sup>r</sup>, there is a marginal figure of the officiant reciting the Grace.

In the text, the most lavishly ornamented pages are those which contain the very ancient hymn *Dayyenu* ("It had sufficed us"), which word ends every verse: alternate hemistiches begin with the slightly similar words אלו ("If He had . . .") and ולא ("Yet had not . . .") which comprises the same three letters in reversed order: thus:

*If He had brought us out of Egypt  
Yet had not executed judgement on them  
It had sufficed us.*

The scribes and decorators of the Sephardi Haggadahs early realized, perhaps in the pre-iconographic period, the decorative potentialities of this arrangement of words. Hence a feature of the illuminated Haggadah manuscripts of the Spanish school (including not only B.M. MSS. Or. 2884, Or. 1404 and Add. 27210—the oldest of the series—but also those which do not follow the tradition represented in the Rylands Haggadah, such as a manuscript in the Hamilton Collection in the Berlin Stadtbibliothek, with remarkable anthropomorphic lettering, and the fine Provençal Haggadah in the Mocatta Library, University College, London) often devoted two or more entire pages to the decorative engrossing of these verses. (This is not so, however, always: the Sarajevo Haggadah and B.M. MSS. Or. 2737 and Add. 14761 both lack this feature, while in the Kaufmann Haggadah it is somewhat less developed). In the Rylands Haggadah the text of the hymn is indited between two columns, in the first of which the word אלו is written repeatedly in letters of gold one below the other, while a similar column with ולא flanks it on the left-hand side: דייני figures less prominently and in smaller characters within a panel. (The derivative B.M. MS. Or. 1404 has a similar but not identical arrangement). The borders in each case are decorated with characteristic drolleries, which include a centaur-archer aiming an arrow heavenwards, a

crane apparently removing a bone from the throat of a bearded old man, and a huntsman, game hung over his shoulder, directing a hound as it courses a hare. This feature is reminiscent of the conventional representation of a hare-hunt, which is almost invariably inserted at the beginning of the traditional Ashkenazi illuminated Haggadah, the German term *Jahkenhaas* or "hunt the hare" having been interpreted as a mnemonic for the initial letters giving the sequence of the benedictions in this part of the service. (יין - קדוש - נר - הבדלה - זמן)<sup>1</sup>

It might be imagined that this fact suggests the dependence on the Ashkenazi tradition in this respect at least of the Rylands Haggadah (and less immediately the Kaufmann Haggadah, which exhibits the same feature, though modified, and with a deer substituted for the hare). But here the Hunt is inserted at a point in the service where the significance vanishes. It seems that we have here, as indeed in the Ashkenazi convention, no more than a pictorial echo of the widespread European practice of a hare-hunt at this season of the year, at Eastertide: a practice itself doubtless rooted in pagan antiquity. (The hare was in fact the sacred animal of the Teutonic goddess of the spring Eostre or Ostâra, from which derives the name Easter, and in Continental Europe is still as characteristic of the season as the egg, which likewise survives in the Jewish Passover observances). On the other hand, the possibility of direct influence (which in this case can only have been from Germany southwards, not *vice versa*) is not wholly to be excluded: a point which should be borne in mind when we consider the origins of this tradition as a whole.

All the Haggadahs in the group under consideration are approximately of the same provenance. When the Sarajevo Haggadah first received the attention of scholars, at the close of the last century, there was some uncertainty about its origin, but it can now be stated unequivocally that the calligraphy as well as the tradition followed in the ritual is without any doubt whatsoever Sephardi—i.e. deriving from Spain or the immediately adjacent areas, such as Portugal or Provence. It was formerly believed that possibly the work might have been executed by

<sup>1</sup> A sort of hare-hunt is comprised also in a drollery on fol. 33<sup>v</sup>.

exiles from Spain abroad, e.g. in south Italy. But at the time when the manuscript was executed no such exile-colonies existed, although of course it can never be proved positively that an anonymous scribe or artist did not perform some given piece of work away from his native country. On the other hand, there is some reason to believe that the place of origin of this series of Sephardi Haggadahs was not in fact the Iberian Peninsula but Provence, which in the Middle Ages was culturally and linguistically nearer to Spain than to France, and in Jewish life was more closely allied to Sephardi (Spanish) than to Ashkenazi (Franco-German) Jewry; the Hebrew culture of the area was humanistic rather than Talmudic, the liturgy was, in its main lines, of the Babylonian (i.e. Sephardi) type. In the liturgical appendices to several of the Haggadahs of the series here under consideration there are various elements which seem specifically to point to Provence as the place of origin. For example, in the Rylands Haggadah and in B.M. MS. Or. 1404 there figure among the hymns two (פסח מצרים, מבית און)<sup>1</sup> which are characteristic of the Provençal rite and which persisted in the Comtat Venaissin down to the last century (the former is to be found also in the Sarajevo Haggadah). More significant: these Haggadahs include a special hymn for the Intermediate Sabbath of Passover when that day coincided with the Catholic Holy Saturday (ושמח הדושים רדופים), referring to the enforced segregation of the Jews at this time of the Christian religious year<sup>2</sup>. This, too, later preserved only in the rites of Avignon and Carpentras, has some interesting variants referring to the traditional stoning of the Jews by the mob on this season; the author is the Provençal poet Isaac haSheniri (i.e. of Mt. Ventoux, which overhangs Carpentras) who flourished in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. There thus seems some reason to imagine that the Rylands manuscript, as well as others of the series, originated in this area, with which the tradition of the Sephardi illuminated Haggadah was therefore particularly strongly associated. In view of the obvious French influences in the earliest

<sup>1</sup> I. Davidson, *Thesaurus of Hebrew Poetry*, iii, p. 303, n. 145, p. 77, n. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Y. Schirman, *Hebrew Poetry in Spain and Provence*, II, pp. 275 ff.; Landshut, *Amude haAbodah*, i. 118-20. Cf. Davidson, *Thesaurus*, iii, p. 227, n. 678.



work of the series, B.M. MS. Or. 27210, and certain other incidental features which seem to show northern analogies, this is particularly interesting. If not Provençal, these manuscripts are presumably Aragonese rather than Castilian—a fact which is emphasized by the prominent engrossing in one of the magnificent opening pages of the Sarajevo Haggadah of what seems to be the coat-of-arms of the City of Barcelona.

The series of the Spanish Haggadah manuscripts that we are considering may be subdivided into two categories. The one, represented by the Sarajevo Haggadah, B.M. MS. Or. 2884, B.M. MS. Add. 27210, and the unfinished Pollack MS., now in Jerusalem, begins the series of illustrations with the Creation and continues to the Exodus (Sarajevo, which is in some respects in a separate category, carries on to the end of the Pentateuch, with the finding of the Manna, the giving of the Ten Commandments, the appointment of Joshua, and the passing of Moses). The other category, represented by the Kaufmann Haggadah, the Rylands Haggadah, B.M. MS. Add. 1404, the Parma<sup>1</sup> and Bologna MSS. and B.M. MS. Or. 2737 (except for the appendix dealing with the sacrifice of Isaac), has a more restricted scope, with greater affinities to the Passover, dealing only with the events of the Book of Exodus, from the birth of Moses down to the triumph at the Dead Sea. Frequently, there is included also in the cycle (in some manuscripts it figures separately) a representation of the Seder meal, no doubt originally intended to represent the first Passover (i.e. one of the Exodus cycle), but afterwards turned into a contemporary scene. It may be observed that there is some affinity between these table-scenes and those shown in some contemporary non-Jewish manuscripts depicting the entertaining of the angels by Abraham (as well as sometimes the Last Supper!).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Metzger informs me that the Biblical illuminations here, very crude, show the Burning Bush, the Plagues, the Exodus, Miriam's dance and the Passover Sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> A dog is frequently shown under the table in these scenes. While without question illustrating actual social practice, this may also allude to the reward of the dogs who did not bay after the departing Israelites (cf. Exod. xi. 7). An amateurish Italian Haggadah manuscript in the British Museum shows under the table a scrawny cat, affectionately described. In the Rylands Haggadah, fol. 15r, etc., Pharaoh is shown with a dog on his lap.

It is noteworthy that B.M. MS. Add. 27210, which is apparently the oldest of the series, by far the best executed and one of the fullest, confines itself rigorously to the Biblical story, from the Creation (to be precise, the naming of the animals by Adam ; could some earlier pages have been lost?) to the Triumph at the Red Sea (followed by the Passover preparations). This is almost the only manuscript in this sequence which has no illuminations whatsoever, and indeed not many ornamentations, in the text, other than the conventional cake of unleavened bread and bitter herb. The miniature showing Moses' voyage from Midian with his household has a striking affinity to the representations of the Flight into Egypt found in so many contemporary Gospel illuminations.

The Rylands Haggadah, which on stylistic grounds is apparently to be dated in the early fourteenth century (perhaps c. 1320-30), is, as has been mentioned, very similar indeed to the slightly younger B.M. MS. Add. 1404. The subject and general arrangement of the preliminary Bible illuminations is identical in the two manuscripts ; and some of the decorated pages bear a similarity down to the most insignificant details, verging on identity, which cannot conceivably be the result of accident. Even the choice, the disposition, the calligraphy and the decoration of the hymns, etc., before and after the text of the Haggadah is strikingly similar ; though in the case of the Rylands Haggadah the decoration is richer, while the British Museum manuscript lacks the handsomely decorated Grace after Meals added by way of afterthought at the close of the other.

On the other hand, among the other British Museum Haggadahs a close relationship may be discerned between MSS. Or. 2884 and Add. 27210. The choice of subjects for illustration is very similar (though not identical, more attention being paid in the former to the life of Jacob). In the story of Moses and Jethro's daughters the Well is shown with an almost identical parapet, Moses actually sitting on it in accordance with the strict interpretation of the Hebrew text. In the miniature of the finding of Moses, Pharaoh's daughter does not bathe together with her handmaidens, who are embarrassingly naked beneath the surface of the water, and so on. There can hardly be any doubt that the

clumsily executed B.M. MS. Or. 2884 is based on or copied from or has an immediate common ancestry with the superb Add. 27210. So far as the text is concerned, moreover, the latter displays a very considerable calligraphic similarity—especially in a detail which will be described immediately below—with the Sarajevo Haggadah on the one hand and with part at least (the first pages) of the Adler Haggadah now in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. This was seen on close inspection (March 1958) to be made up of portions of two different Spanish manuscripts (fols. 1 to 13, fols. 14 onwards). It may be conjectured that when complete the first part, at least, embodied also a series of illuminations similar to those in the closely allied MS. Add. 27210, apparently from the same hand, in the British Museum. The same is possibly the case also with a very fine Spanish codex of the Haggadah which has not been mentioned hitherto—B.M. MS. Add. 14761—which, though including a number of admirably executed liturgical scenes and the like (perhaps one half of the total number of the pages are indeed illuminated in one way or another) has no preliminary historical miniatures. In this case, too, there is the conceivability of the loss at the beginning and end of the pages embodying the Biblical cycle.

The sub-group of manuscripts under consideration (i.e. B.M. MSS. Or. 2737, Add. 27210, Or. 2884 and the Sarajevo Haggadah, as well as the first half of the incomplete Adler Haggadah) are distinguished also by the characteristic panels with floral designs, etc., enclosing many of the initial words, the heavy burnished silver enhancing some of these, and especially the fantastically elongated vertical strokes of others, reaching throughout the pages in the middle of the text to the top or bottom margin. This last is a feature I have seen in this form in no other Hebrew manuscripts whatsoever so far as I recall—only in these Haggadah codices.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that

<sup>1</sup> Non-Jewish codices of the thirteenth century very often have somewhat similar elongated strokes of letters descending in the lateral margins, but this is quite different from those here which interrupt the text; a feature unknown, as Dr. Pächt assures me, in non-Jewish manuscripts. The reproductions from MS. Add. 14761 and the Adler Haggadah in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunstdenkmäler*, vi/vi (Frankfort on Main, 1909), plates 41, 42, and 44, give a somewhat inadequate impression of this detail.

all the Haggadahs embodying this feature (except the derivative B.M. MS. Or. 2737 and the incomplete Adler manuscript) are those which include the full cycle of Bible illuminations, from the Creation onwards. They thus constitute a category of their own, perhaps harking back to a very early prototype.<sup>1</sup> This is a point which demands very careful investigation; it is enough here to point out that the Rylands Haggadah follows a slightly different, perhaps a slightly posterior, tradition.

None of the manuscripts that we have been considering is signed or dated. MS. Add. 27210 is, it seems, the oldest in the series, to judge from the style of the illuminations, which suggest a date towards the end of the thirteenth century. The others are all posterior—the Rylands Haggadah, dating probably, as we have seen, to c. 1320-30, the B.M. MS. Or. 1404 somewhat later still, the Kaufmann Haggadah being ascribed to the third quarter of the fourteenth century or a trifle after, and all the rest belonging similarly to this century.

It was at one time taken for granted that the illuminations in the group of codices represented by the Rylands Haggadah must necessarily be the work of Christian, not of Jewish, artists. This opinion was based not only on the fact that they are so much in the style and tradition of contemporary Christian book-illumination, but also on the prevailing view, that figurative art was not practised by Jews in the Middle Ages; hence any figurative art that appeared in a Jewish context must necessarily be by non-Jewish hands, Christian illuminators being called on to complete the work of puritanic Jewish scribes. The investigations of the past couple of generations have shown that there is no basis for this view. In fact, as we have seen, the tradition of Jewish Bible illuminations goes back to a remote period. Moreover, we know by name numerous Jewish illuminators, with no

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, so far as the text-illuminations are concerned many features are shared by MS. Add. 14761 in the British Museum (the fine Spanish manuscript mentioned above, lacking the preliminary Bible cycle) and the Kaufmann Haggadah—e.g. the inclusion of the textual illumination in oblong panels, the angelic fanfare which surrounds the representation of the unleavened bread, etc. M. Metzger informs me that there is a close similarity also between the Parma Haggadah and B.M. MS. Or. 2884. We thus seem to be faced with three or four sub-groups of the conventional Spanish Haggadah codex.

iconophobic inhibitions, who were at work in the Middle Ages. (One may instance Nathan ben Simeon, who illuminated, at Cologne in 1295, the Kaufmann Maimonides Codex, now in the Academy of Sciences, Budapest: or the thirteenth-century Spaniard Isaac ibn Sahula, who is known to have illustrated his collection of fables, *Meshal haKadmoni*). Hence there is no *a priori* reason to question that Jewish artists were responsible for the illumination of Hebrew books. Sometimes, certainly, this was not the case. But conversely it may well be that some illuminated non-Jewish codices of the Middle Ages may have been the work of anonymous Jewish illuminators whose identity was perhaps deliberately suppressed.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, in this Haggadah series there are various features which seem to suggest positively that the illustrations, or at all events their prototypes, were the work of Jews. Not infrequently they shew familiarity with the rabbinic elaboration of the Bible story, as reflected in the Midrashic literature. Thus (to take one example from the Rylands Haggadah, repeated in others of the series) the infant Moses is shown removing the crown from the head of Pharaoh, who is advised by his three counsellors to test the child with a burning brand so as to ascertain whether he was tempted by ambition or by the brightness; in fact he puts the brand to his mouth, this being the reason for his defective speech in later life (Exodus Rabbah, i. 18). Again, in the miniature showing Moses and the Burning Bush, a human figure appears in the midst of the flame, in accordance with the legend (Canticles Rabbah ii. 5, etc.) that the fire which Moses saw here was the Angel Gabriel. Such legends penetrated of course into the Christian folklore of the Middle Ages,<sup>2</sup> but it is less likely that a non-Jew would have included them consistently in his pictorial representation of the Bible story. Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> For a consideration of this problem see the preliminary essay and Dr. F. Landsberger's enlightening chapter in my *History of Jewish Art* (Jerusalem, 1959: shortly to appear also in English).

<sup>2</sup> For example, the "man" who finds Joseph wandering in the field (Gen. xxxvii. 15-16) is depicted as an Angel in accordance with the Midrashic story not only in the Haggadah B.M. MS. Or. 2884, but also in other illustration cycles, Christian as well as Jewish: cf. O. Pächt, *Ephraim-illustration, Haggadah und Wiener Genesis*, in *Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda* (1959), pp. 213-21.



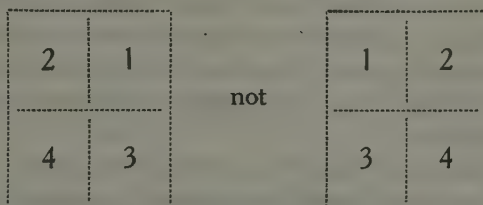
occasionally the illuminations seem to show familiarity with the Hebrew text, which they illustrate literally: thus, as has been mentioned, in B.M. MSS. Or. 2884 and Add. 14761, Moses is shown sitting on the parapet of the well in Midian, in literal conformity with the Hebrew text of Exodus ii. 15. The representation of the Fourth Plague is another significant point. According to the prevalent Jewish interpretation, it consisted of an inroad of ravening animals, while according to the Vulgate and Christian tradition the plague was of flies. In all the Haggadah manuscripts belonging to this group the illumination follows the Jewish tradition; thus in the Rylands Haggadah and its faithful follower, B.M. MS. Or. 1404, beasts and reptiles are seen attacking Pharaoh and his Court.<sup>1</sup> The Sarajevo Haggadah similarly depicts at this stage thick-bodied legged serpents, pulling down their prey. Apparently, the intention was to represent the crocodile, the traditional beast of the Nile—again perhaps an indication of a remote, possibly Oriental origin for the pictorial tradition here in question. The “serpents” in the Rylands Haggadah and its derivative may also be explained sometimes in this manner, but are less distinctive.<sup>2</sup>

What is perhaps the most important evidence of the ultimate Jewish authorship of these illuminations is their orientation. In a Latin work, beginning from the left of a volume, and with the script running from left to right, the illuminations naturally tend to follow the same direction; that is to say, the story is unfolded from left to right, and the climax is on the right, where the most important figure serves as the focus of the whole. Similarly, if two scenes are represented in one panel, that which is later in time is normally on the right, and that which is earlier on the left. In a Hebrew work, all this is naturally reversed.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rosenau, in her article referred to above, states that a plague of flies is depicted: she seems to have misinterpreted the background. In fact, the serpents and scorpions shown in the illumination are the creatures specifically mentioned in the Rabbinic sources.

<sup>2</sup> I have found no indication in any ancient Jewish authority of such an interpretation of the Fourth Plague. The “serpent” of Aaron’s Rod is also shown as a crocodile in the Sarajevo Haggadah; that a crocodile should swallow up mere serpents seemed perhaps rational. These details suggest that the mediæval Jewish iconographic tradition as manifested in these manuscripts has a literary importance also, illustrating legends for which no written evidence survives.

Now, in the tradition followed by the works in this group (though less markedly in the Rylands Haggadah), the Hebrew sequence is generally followed. The characters proceed most frequently from right to left. The climax is reached on the left. Where there are two scenes in one panel, or a panel is divided into two sections, that on the left is the later. B.M. MS. Or. 27210 is particularly important from this point of view, with its fifty-six miniatures, four to the page, disposed in the way which would be natural only for a Jew. Not only are the individual illuminations conceived in the Hebrew fashion, proceeding from right to left, but they are consistently grouped in the way which would come automatically to the Jewish but not to the Christian scribe, as it were thus :



Not once, in the whole of this protracted series of illuminations, has the artist reverted to the order which would be a matter of course to a Christian scribe—though it was not a detail of fundamental importance, and a mistake would presumably have been allowed to remain.<sup>1</sup> In this manuscript, moreover, in the miniature depicting Jacob's Dream the name of the patriarch figures in Hebrew lettering. Thus there seems to be every reason to believe that this most important and competent series of illuminations, notwithstanding their particularly close analogies to contemporary Christian book-art, are the work of a Jewish artist.

To be sure, there are in some of these Haggadahs certain features which seem to suggest at least strong non-Jewish influences. For example, in B.M. MS. Or. 2884 the naked Noah is shown holding his penis, and the maidservants of Pharaoh's

<sup>1</sup> This is the case also at the beginning of the Sarajevo Haggadah, where the Creation scenes are similarly grouped four to the page.

daughter are shown not merely naked, but *visis genitalibus* (so also in the allied B.M. MS. Add. 27210). At one point at least in the Rylands Haggadah, illustrating the plague of frogs, and more than once in the Sarajevo Haggadah, the narrative moves from left to right (though in other manuscripts of the series the Hebrew order still persists). Of course, excessive importance should not be attached to this consideration, as conversely in a number of Christian manuscripts the narrative proceeds in fact in the Jewish order, from right to left. Some of these as it happens depict Old Testament subjects<sup>1</sup> and it is interesting to speculate whether this may not perhaps imply Jewish iconographic antecedents. Another significant detail is the fact that in copying B.M. MS. Or. 1404 from the Rylands Haggadah the artist introduced some tell-tale variations. For example, Biblical or Jewish characters, shown with covered heads in the Rylands Haggadah (though not in the case of the marginal figures of Rabbis!), are bareheaded in the copy, contrary to Jewish tradition.

What seems to result from these evidences is that the illuminations of the Spanish Haggadah cycle probably go back to Jewish prototypes and may well be in many cases the work of Jewish artists, though sometimes they perhaps emanate immediately from Gentile artists who may have departed here and there from their originals. On the other hand, it is not to be excluded that there may have been a non-Jewish link somewhere in the chain of transmission.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example some of the scenes of the Joseph cycle in the *Histoire Universelle* reproduced in H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957).

<sup>2</sup> A proof that the Sarajevo Haggadah (and by implication the sister-codices) cannot have been the work of a Jewish illuminator has been seen in the fact that the seventh day of creation, the Sabbath, is here represented by a man seated in repose. This was alleged to represent God: and no Jewish artist would have represented God, even had the visual arts been tolerated in his environment. This is not so certain, for the Deity is certainly represented in the Vision of Ezekiel included in the engraved title-page to the Mantua edition of the Hebrew Bible, *Minhat Shai*, of 1742. However, the discussion is beside the point. The Master of the Sarajevo Haggadah represents the idea of Sabbath repose by the figure of a man resting, and that this is intended to represent the Deity is improbable in the extreme.

When, on the other hand, we turn from the preliminary pages to the text of these Haggadahs, it is difficult to imagine that the illuminator could have been a non-Jew. In the Rylands Haggadah, as in the other works in the series, the incidental ornamentations and drolleries are fully integrated with the Hebrew lettering. The marginal illuminations scattered throughout the work form harmonious parts of the pages on which they figure. In the splendidly-balanced pages devoted to the *Dayyenu* hymn, above all, it would be impossible to divorce the elegant text from the decorations (again including the human figure) which flow out into the margins. It can hardly be doubted that here at least scribe and illuminator were identical; and if here, why not elsewhere? It is arguable perhaps that the preliminary pages with the Biblical illuminations are from one hand, and the text-pages from another. But this explanation is not only hypothetical but also superfluous.

The pattern of the manuscripts belonging to this group is the same in every case. There are close similarities, as has been mentioned, in the presentation, arrangement and decoration of the text-pages. But the distinguishing feature is that which has been described already, i.e. the presence, either before, or before and after the text, of a supplement of illustrations devoted to the Pentateuchal story, concentrating on but not restricted to the Exodus and the life of Moses. In the arrangement of these volumes, moreover, these illustrations are wholly divorced in every sense from the text, their bearing on which is only tangential.

This absence of correlation between illumination and text is characteristic of another class of Spanish Hebrew manuscripts, and seems therefore to be a result of the circumstances and environment of Spanish Jewish history. We must revert for a moment to the general consideration of the problem of Jewish book-art in the Middle Ages. It has become increasingly evident of recent years that the conventional story which so long prevailed, that before their Emancipation in the nineteenth century the Jews were excluded from representational art by their strict interpretation of the Ten Commandments, has only a restricted validity. In fact, from a remote antiquity (as the

synagogue frescoes of Dura Europos have made clear) representational art flourished among the Jews at certain periods and under certain conditions. However, when their neighbours objected to this (as during the iconoclastic reaction in the Byzantine Empire, or during the period of Moslem domination in Africa and Spain) the Jews, with their specific tradition, could not afford as it were to be more tolerant or more negligent in this respect than others were, and they too became iconoclastic, this influence continuing perhaps for a while after the original justification had passed. This is presumably the reason why the earliest and freest examples of Hebrew manuscript illumination emerge surprisingly enough as has been indicated above in the less humanistic German-Ashkenazi, not in the more humanistic Spanish-Sephardi, environment. Moreover, when at last, and tardily, manuscript illuminations emerge in the last-mentioned area, there was a tendency, first, to keep them as far as possible non-representational, and secondly to divorce them from the actual text. Thus the classical type of the Spanish Hebrew illuminated Bible manuscript has no, or few, illuminations to the text. The ornamental portion is hence restricted to a series of lavish decorations in preliminary or appended pages; these display, moreover, only the slenderest relation to the text, which itself is only anaemically and sporadically decorated. Thus, in these illuminated Hebrew Bibles, some of them very magnificent and obviously produced regardless of expense (such as the Kennicott Bible in the Bodleian Library, the Lisbon Bible MS. Or. 2626 in the British Museum, the Farhi Bible in the Sassoon Collection, the Ibn Gaon Bible in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Hebrew Bible of the University of Aberdeen, and so on), there are to all intents and purposes no illuminations whatsoever accompanying the actual text, while the superb illuminations which figure before and after this have no physical or contextual relationship to the pages which are the reason for the existence of the manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my monographs *The Aberdeen Codex of the Hebrew Bible* (Edinburgh, 1958), *The Kennicott Bible* (Oxford, 1957), "A Masterpiece of Spanish Jewish Art" in *Sefarad*, xii (1952), 351-68. There is a close parallel to this convention in the inclusion at the beginning of some contemporary Christian Gospel manuscripts of the Canonical Tables of Eusebius, sumptuously indited within



The same *mutatis mutandis* may be said of the classical Spanish Haggadah manuscripts. Here, too, there are in most cases few or no illuminations illustrating the text; and those illuminations which exist are (as in the case of the Bibles) at the beginning or end, standing quite apart physically and contextually from the Haggadah liturgy which is the subject-matter of the volume. One cannot but imagine that the similarity of pattern is derived from the same circumstances. But we are faced with the extraordinary paradox that in the Biblical manuscripts, where one would expect to find illustrations of the Bible story, they are illogically excluded, whereas they are inconsequentially appended to the Haggadah manuscripts with which their connection is incidental or even absent!

In connection with this we have to take into consideration the fact already alluded to, that it now seems to be pretty well established that in antiquity there existed a conventional Jewish book-art, centering on the illumination of the Bible, and particularly of the Pentateuch. This is testified most clearly in a Jewish context in the Dura Europos synagogue frescoes, which in the opinion of some scholars were conceived in the first place as book- rather than as wall-pictures: while Christian sacred codices such as the Codex Amiatinus, the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the Vienna Genesis and so on provide parallel evidence transferred into a European context.

Apart from the cycle of Pentateuchal illustrations, there are some other points in which the conventional Haggadah of the Spanish tradition seems to link up with the primitive tradition of Hebrew illuminated Bibles. In the Rylands Haggadah, the textual illuminations are confined to marginal representations of Rabbis, always seated on what may be termed a Chair of Instruction or Cathedra, at almost every point where a specific scholar is mentioned in the text. This is the case also where the text mentions the Wise Son as one of the prototypes of the four types of child to whom the Passover story is to be expounded.

ornamental borders and comprising thus the most elaborate decorations of many codices. Some of the Hebrew Bibles (e.g. the Aberdeen Bible) sometimes concentrate likewise on purely formal materials or even lists of a somewhat similar type disposed in an analogous fashion.

The case is similar in most of the other classical-type Spanish Haggadahs. In the Sarajevo Haggadah this feature is particularly prominent. Here, apart from the Biblical illuminations there are only two or three full page miniatures; one of these is devoted to a much-copied representation of Rabban Gamaliel sternly seated before his pupils.<sup>1</sup> Now, there is good reason to imagine that a seated figure of a scribe figured in the primitive Hebrew illuminated Bibles in the early centuries, analogous to the model of the seated figure of the evangelist who conventionally figures in Byzantine and early Latin codices of the Gospels. Indeed, in that prefixed to the Codex Amiatinus, believed to represent Ezra the Scribe, what can hardly be other than a phylactery is clearly to be observed on the forehead, surely a definite indication of a Jewish prototype, especially as the Torah-scribe traditionally wore the phylacteries when copying the sacred scriptures.<sup>2</sup> It can hardly be mere coincidence that the Spanish Haggadah codices, which perpetuated, as it seems, the tradition of the Hebrew Bible illuminations of the early centuries, preserve also the seated figure of the Teacher-scribe which figured likewise in them.<sup>3</sup>

The conventional illuminated Hebrew codex of the classical period seems to have comprised also a representation of the Tabernacle, which in due course became transformed into the

<sup>1</sup> R. Gamaliel also figures specifically in the Rylands Haggadah, the Pollack Haggadah, the Sassoon MS. 514, Parma MS. 2411, the Adler Haggadah, etc. The prominence this scholar receives may be due to the fact that in the Middle Ages he was associated with Jewish scholarship in a unique fashion, the Talmud being popularly called—at least among Gentiles—Gamaliel!

<sup>2</sup> See my article "Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art", *ut supra*.

<sup>3</sup> The Ashkenazi Haggadahs also conventionally show representations of various Rabbis and of the "wise" Rabbinical son, but the *cathedra* is less in evidence, and R. Gamaliel is not singled out as in the Sephardi tradition. A similar figure of the Teacher occurs also at the end of Leviticus as one of the sparse illuminations to the Pentateuch MS. Add. 15282 in the British Museum (German, fourteenth century).

Another classical reminiscence which persisted in the German (and N. Italian) Haggadah manuscripts is a sort of columbarium or chequer-board depicting the (caricatured) *dramatis personae*. This figures not only in the privately-owned Haggadah illustrated in my article in the *Warburg Journal*, but also in a Haggadah formerly in the Dyson Perrins Collection and one in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York.

Torah-shrine and thereafter in some circumstances into a book-chest, figuring as such in association with the Evangelist in the early Gospel manuscripts. In the Jewish tradition, this feature was possibly perpetuated in the stylized representation of the Tabernacle and its vessels which was a usual feature of the illuminated Spanish and Provençal Bible manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> This might conceivably be the reason why it does not figure generally in the Haggadah manuscripts of this school. However, in the Sarajevo Haggadah a whole page at the end of the Biblical cycle is devoted to the representation of a shrine inscribed with the first words of the Ten Commandments; although labelled as the Temple that was to be rebuilt, it is in fact no other than a stylized Torah-shrine such as is to be found in some of the Bible manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> This is inserted in the Sarajevo Haggadah so inconsequentially and one might say illogically that the most ready explanation for its presence is that it represents a tradition which the artist blindly and uncritically followed. It is remarkable in any case that the Sarajevo Haggadah devotes two full pages—out of the three or four in the entire manuscript—to illustrations reproducing features which are believed to have figured in the Hebrew illuminated Bibles of classical antiquity.<sup>3</sup> And it is perhaps significant, too, that this manuscript contains the most complete cycle of illustrations of the entire series—with least relevance to the Passover—extending from the Creation over the whole of the Pentateuch. There is thus some reason to imagine that here we have the most faithful reflection of the illuminated Pentateuchal manuscript of the classical period, now lost, which the Rylands Haggadah reproduces also but somewhat less fully.

The existence of the family of Spanish Haggadah manuscripts, accompanied by a series of Pentateuchal illustrations,

<sup>1</sup> See my article in the *Warburg Journal*, *ut supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxviii (1950), facing p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> The other full-page illumination at the beginning of the Sarajevo Haggadah, after the "Temple" page, shows a Synagogue interior, wholly superfluous in the context, the open Torah-shrine figuring prominently. It is conceivable that this duplicates the Tabernacle page of the early prototype. This hypothesis could explain the presence of Synagogue scenes, somewhat incongruously, in a relatively large number of these purely domestic Haggadah rituals.

can, as it seems to me, be explained in only two ways. The first is highly improbable: it is, that some individual in this orbit had this novel idea, and that the manuscript which he commissioned or inspired or executed was thereafter copied and recopied by others, notwithstanding the general prejudice in this environment against any delineation of the human form in normal circumstances. The only alternative explanation that readily occurs is that all this represents an older tradition, other and earlier manifestations of which are no longer preserved.

This series of illustrations does not, however, belong basically to the tradition of Haggadah illumination. If this were the case, the text and the subject-matter of the Haggadah would obviously provide the essential material for the illustrations. But the fact is very different. In the later manuscripts, such as the Kaufmann Codex, the Biblical illuminations serve indeed, as it were, as a prelude to the consistent illumination of the Haggadah. But, as we have seen, in the oldest and finest—the Sarajevo Haggadah, the Rylands Haggadah, B.M. MS. Add. 27210—the text of the Haggadah is on the whole only decorated (in the last-mentioned no illuminations whatsoever figure) and even in the illuminated preliminary pages there is nothing illustrating the actual observance of the feast, other than the original Passover in Egypt, now given here as it were a contemporary relevance. Moreover, in those of the series which cover also the Book of Genesis, only a minority of the illustrations deal with the Exodus, the majority being devoted to the story of the Patriarchs, with certain significant stresses. Thus, in the Sarajevo Haggadah, 18 or 20 miniatures out of a total of 66, and in B.M. MS. Add. 27210, about 12 out of 56—in either case a disproportionate number, in a work dealing specifically with the Passover—are devoted to the story of Joseph, which is believed (again on the analogy of early Christian art) to have contributed particularly to the subject-matter of the primitive Jewish cycle of Bible illumination.<sup>1</sup> A cycle of illuminations originally planned to illustrate

<sup>1</sup> See for this and for some striking instances of interdependence, O. Pächt, *Ephraim-illustration, Haggadah, und Wiener Genesis in Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda* (1959), pp. 213-21.

the Haggadah must have been differently planned and would have had a better balance.<sup>1</sup>

We are compelled to the conclusion that this series of illuminations of the Pentateuchal story was originally developed in connection with the Pentateuch rather than the Haggadah, being placed together in the manner of the early Gospel manuscripts, such as the Purple Codex of Rossano mentioned above : whether the usage originated with the Jews or Christians is another question, but the former possibility is not perhaps to be wholly disregarded. This conclusion is reinforced by various facts mentioned above, e.g. that in some of these works the seated figure of the Scribe which apparently figured in early Hebrew Biblical manuscripts survives, accompanied, in the case of the Sarajevo Haggadah at least, also by the representation of the Ark (Book-Chest) which was a conventional feature of these manuscripts ; and that the story of Joseph, which is believed to have been so prominent in this early Jewish cycle of illuminations, is so extremely and unnecessarily prominent also in the Haggadah sequence.<sup>2</sup>

How, however, the cycle can have been transferred from one category of manuscript to the other is very difficult to comprehend. With all possible diffidence, the following explanation of the

<sup>1</sup> There are two more cycles of Bible illustrations in Ashkenazi illuminated manuscripts. The very fine (and in the context of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts very early) miscellaneous volume Add. 11639 (thirteenth century : approximately 1278) in the British Museum comprises among its 41 fine illuminations (some multiple) at least 33 illustrating various episodes in the Pentateuchal and Biblical story, in no logical or chronological order, but possibly deriving nevertheless from a methodically illuminated Bible codex. A Franco-German manuscript Pentateuch of about 1300, now in the Schocken Library, Jerusalem, has on its opening page 46 roundels representing the entire Pentateuchal story from the Creation to the Death of Moses, paying very special attention (20 scenes) to the career of Joseph, as in Spanish Haggadahs.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence assembled by Joseph Guttman, in " The Jewish Origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures ", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xliv (1953), pp. 65-9, gives reason to believe that there is some connection between the picture-cycle of the Ashkenazi Haggadah and a primitive cycle of Jewish Bible illuminations (see also O. Pächt's important article cited above). An entirely different line of transmission must have been followed in this case. This would strengthen the arguments proposed above, yet at the same time suggest even more remote origin, for by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the disparity between the two traditions, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, was vast.



transition is suggested. As has been shown, these Haggadah illuminations perpetuate in a modified form the traditional illustrations to the Hebrew Pentateuchal codex of antiquity. The triumph of iconoclastic principles, after the rise of Islam, resulted in the omission of these illustrations from the traditional Sephardi Bible codex. Their place here was now taken by the purely decorative pages which thereafter became characteristic of Spanish Hebrew Bible illuminations, even these, however, being placed before and after the text so as not to impinge on the Bible itself. The entire cycle of illuminations was nevertheless preserved—perhaps in Provence, outside the iconoclastic Moslem orbit. Here, however, it was utilized to illustrate not the Bible but the somewhat less sacred Passover ritual, part of the cycle having some bearing on the Haggadah text. In due course, the series in question came to be modified by omissions and additions which adapted it more to the Paschal setting. Of the codices which now emerged, one of the finest specimens extant is the Rylands Haggadah.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE : THE SCROLL TRADITION.

Professor Kurt Weitzmann has put forward the view (especially in his *Ancient Book Illumination*, Harvard University Press, 1959) that illuminated scrolls of literary works were known in Hellenistic Alexandria, these being the precursors of the illuminated codex of late classical times and the Middle Ages. This form was long traditional with one Hebrew work, the Megillah or Scroll of Esther, many hundred illuminated specimens of which are extant. The earliest dated specimen known to me (other than some purely fantastic) is in the Library of the Liverpool Athenaeum, ostensibly of 1453, but certainly much posterior ; Hebrew MS. 22 in the Rylands Library, dated 1511—a remarkably fine example of this art form—similarly appears from the costumes, etc., to belong to the close of the century. Hence the handsomely decorated (rather than illuminated) Megillah now in the Library of the University of Jerusalem (formerly at Frankfort), written at Castelnuovo near Sienna in 1557, seems to be the oldest extant of assured date. On the other hand, it obviously reflected a well-established tradition,

presumably going back to the Middle Ages. Of this we apparently have evidence also in a marginal illustration showing the Ten Sons of Haman in a Hebrew Bible manuscript of 1238 in the Breslau Stadtbibliothek, codex 1106 (reproduced in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vi. 805-6: but the illumination does not seem to be so early) and less positively in the three miniatures depicting the story of Esther included in the rich series in British Museum MS. Add. 11639 of 1277/8. The illuminations to the Book of Esther in the fifteenth-century Alva Bible also show affinities to the later convention of the illuminated Megillah (e.g. in the illustration of the Rabbinic legend that Zeresh threw the household slops over her husband's head imagining that he was Mordecai). The panel devoted to the story of Esther in the third-century Dura Europos synagogue frescoes suggest a contemporary tradition of illumination, possibly in scroll form: it is significant that the same episodes figure as in the thirteenth century British Museum manuscript referred to above. A gap of almost 1,000 years remains to be filled, but as in the case of the Passover Haggadah continuity of tradition is not impossible. That the Bible illustrations preserved in the Rylands Haggadah, etc., originated similarly in illuminated scrolls is a possibility which should not be overlooked<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A significant although late instance in the tradition of Jewish book-art of the transference of illuminations from scroll to volume is to be found in the mediaeval illustrated handbooks to the Holy Places of Palestine, possibly based on earlier prototypes: cf. the reproduction in my work *The Casale Pilgrim* (London, 1929), originally conceived in scroll-form.

## THE PAPACY AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCE OF TYRE (1100-1187)<sup>1</sup>

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AS we all know, the papal monarchy of the high Middle Ages achieved substantially the consolidation of its powers, spiritual and temporal, both in theory and practice, during the twelfth century. It is therefore readily understandable if the historian, in presenting a general account of that fascinating development, be occasionally tempted to over-simplify, i.e. to depict the growth of papal power in quasi-linear terms, beginning in the latter half of eleventh century and rising steeply, without deviation or regression, towards its culmination in the reign of Innocent III. The reality was, of course, far removed from this abstraction. The development of papal power underwent constant fluctuation, influenced always by the pressure of men and events. Just as there were many victories, many advances, so there were also many stalemates, compromises and even outright defeats.

To illustrate the irregularities in the development of papal power, we may direct our attention profitably to the Latin Orient, and, in particular, to the controversy over the ecclesiastical province of Tyre.<sup>2</sup> It should be said at once that this ecclesiastical dispute has not been ignored by historians. There are

<sup>1</sup> I owe much to the advice and criticism given, during the preparation of this article, by Sir Steven Runciman and Professors B. Wilkinson (Toronto) and R. K. Harrison (Western Ontario).

<sup>2</sup> An introduction to the ecclesiastical history of the Latin Orient may be found in S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1952-4), ii. 310-4; J. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 203-16; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'Époque des Croisades* (Paris, 1940), pp. 308-26, 501-26; M. W. Baldwin, "Ecclesiastical Developments in the Twelfth Century Crusaders' State of Tripoli", *Catholic Historical Review*, xxii (1936-7), 149-71. A comprehensive history of the churches of the Latin Orient is promised in the fourth volume of the new *A History of the Crusades*

several monographs and articles which deal with the problem of relations between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* during the early years of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and these perforce touch on the controversy, if only in its early stages.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the great historians of *Outremer* have referred to it, sometimes in considerable detail.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, there is still need for a thorough account of the controversy, a lacuna which it is hoped to fill by this article. Yet beyond this, we intend to call attention to some of the problems which the Papacy encountered in its dealings with the Latin Orient, hoping in this way to cast additional light on the rise of the Papacy to spiritual hegemony in Western Christendom.<sup>3</sup>

(ed. Kenneth Setton, Philadelphia, 1955). For the present, the most satisfactory treatment of the subject as a whole is to be found in W. Hotzelt, *Kirchengeschichte Palästinas im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge* (Köln, 1940). Other works which have proved useful in the writing of this article are: M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* (Paris, 1740); R. Röhrich, "Syria sacra", *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins*, x (1887), 1-48; L. de Mas Latrie, "Les Patriarches Latins de Jérusalem" and "Les Patriarches Latins d'Antioche", *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, i-ii (1893-4), 16-41, 192-205; P. Fabre and L. Duchesne, *Le "Liber Censuum" de l'Église Romaine* (Paris, 1910), i, 237-8; the many articles by A. Alt, G. Beyer and W. Hotzelt in *Palästina-Jahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für altentumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes*, vol. xxix (1933), vol. xxxiii (1937), vol. xxxiv (1938) and in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins*, vol. lxiii-lxviii (1940-51); R. Devreesse, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche* (Paris, 1945), esp. pp. 119-23, 162-201, 305-8; J. Laurent, "La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin", *Actes du vie Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (Paris, 1948), (Paris, 1950), I, 279-88. Additional information on the episcopal lists in the patriarchate of Antioch may be found in Cahen, op. cit. pp. 319-23, and J. Richard, "Note sur l'Archidiocèse d'Apamée et les conquêtes de Raymond de Saint-Gilles en Syrie du Nord", *Syria*, xxv (1946-8), 103-8. I should point out here that in my copy of Cahen the episcopal lists on 321 belong on 322 and vice versa.

<sup>1</sup> F. Kühn, *Geschichte des ersten lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem* (Leipzig, 1886); E. Hampel, *Untersuchungen über das lateinische Patriarchat von Jerusalem* (Breslau, 1899); J. Hansen, *Das Problem eines Kirchenstaates in Jerusalem* (Luxembourg, 1928); J. G. Rowe, "Paschal II and the Relation between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem", *Speculum*, xxxii (1957), 470-501.

<sup>2</sup> Runciman, op. cit. ii, 85, 101, 311; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades* (Paris, 1934-6), i, 115, n. 2, 309 f., ii, 24 f.

<sup>3</sup> For the general problem of the Papacy and its relations with the crusaders in the East, see D. C. Munro, "The Popes and the Crusades", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, lv (1916), 348-56; J. La Monte, "La Papauté et les Croisades", *Renaissance*, ii-iii (1945), 154-67; M. W. Baldwin, "The Papacy and the Levant during the Twelfth Century", *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, iii (1945), 277-87.

I. *The Origin of the Controversy*

What seemed at first to be a simple problem, requiring the re-alignment of the traditional ecclesiastical boundaries between the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch with the political divisions established by the Christian reconquest in Syria-Palestine, developed into a dangerous quarrel whose resolution turned upon the problem of relations between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in the Latin Orient. Seeking to preserve peace and harmony among the crusaders as well as to strengthen its authority over the churches in the crusaders' states, the Papacy under Paschal II (1099-1118) attempted to find a solution to the problem, but with little success. As we shall show, the problem of Tyre remained unsolved at the time of Paschal's death and was complicated increasingly by the unmistakable reluctance of the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch to accept papal supremacy in all its necessary consequences.

In the fifth century the patriarchate of Antioch was the principal seat of ecclesiastical power in Asia Minor, and chief among its suffragan metropolitans was Tyre. The ecclesiastical province of Tyre stretched along the Mediterranean coast to the north and south of the see, embracing some thirteen dioceses, six of which are important for our purposes: to the south and adjoining the patriarchate of Jerusalem, the suffragan episcopal see of Acre; to the north, towards Antioch, Sidon, Beirut, Jubail (Byblos), Tripoli and Tortosa. Although the extent of Tyre's jurisdiction was great and although the triumphs of Islam had wrought confusion in the churches, the patriarchs of Antioch never forgot that by tradition Tyre and all its suffragans belonged to them, and the right to rule the province of Tyre was part of the proud heritage of their Latin successors on the throne of Peter the Apostle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the ecclesiastical structure of the province of Tyre before the advent of Islam, see Devreesse, *op. cit.* pp. 194-201, 305-8. His list of dioceses does not correspond in every detail with those supplied by William of Tyre, xiii. 2, xiv. 12, 14, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, hereafter abbreviated RHCOc (Paris, 1844-95), i. 558, 623, 626. However, these discrepancies are unimportant for our purposes. All future references to William of Tyre (WT) will cite book, chapter and page in this edition.



The Patriarch Bernard of Antioch was in nowise reluctant to assert his traditional rights over Tyre. However, in the early years of the Latin reconquest, his attention was of necessity directed towards the northern half of the province of Tyre, and in particular, towards Tripoli, Tortosa and Jubail.<sup>1</sup> With regard to Tripoli, a recent authority, J. Richard, has suggested that Raymond of Toulouse had hoped to establish Tripoli as a metropolitan see, enjoying independence from both Antioch and Jerusalem. He had Albert, the former Abbot of Saint-Erard, consecrated archbishop of Tripoli, and, according to Richard, Albert was sent to Rome to obtain confirmation of his metropolitan rank. This was refused. The evidence advanced by Richard to support these suggestions seems insufficient. However, if we cannot accept with complete confidence this account of Raymond's aspirations for the church of Tripoli, we can be reasonably certain that the said Albert was chosen bishop of Tripoli and that he was active in his diocese from perhaps as early as the year 1104. Further, there is every reason to believe that he followed the tradition and acknowledged Bernard of Antioch as his ecclesiastical superior.<sup>2</sup> As for Tortosa and Jubail, Richard also says that these cities received their bishops almost immediately after their occupation in 1102 and 1103 respectively.<sup>3</sup> Here Richard relies on the evidence of William of Tyre who relates that the

<sup>1</sup> For a general discussion of the episcopal churches of Tripoli, see Röhricht, "Syria sacra", pp. 26, 31-2; Cahen, op. cit. p. 321; J. Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la Dynastie Toulousaine* (Paris, 1945), pp. 58-62.

<sup>2</sup> Richard, op. cit. p. 59, and in his "Note sur . . . Apamée", pp. 103-4. Evidence for Albert's election as bishop of Tripoli may be found in William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1887-89), ii. 458. The evidence given by Richard for Raymond's desire to raise Tripoli to metropolitan status and Albert's journey to Rome is to be found in C. Brunel, *Les Miracles de Saint Privat* (Paris, 1912), in *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire*, pp. 37-8. In this document, Albert is designated archbishop of Tripoli, present at a council in France (c.) 1106. The pious account of the translation of the remains of St. Privatus does not mention any appeal to Rome. The account was composed some sixty years after the event and is open to the suspicion which attaches to all hagiographic writing. We have no other evidence with which to support Richard's suggestions. Albert appears as Bishop of Tripoli first in 1112 on the episcopal lists compiled by Röhricht, "Syria sacra", 32, and Cahen, op. cit. p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Richard, op. cit. p. 58.

patriarch of Antioch installed bishops in the cities of the Latin county of Tripoli, i.e. Tripoli, Tortosa and Jubail, as soon as they had been restored to Christian hands.<sup>1</sup>

Is William of Tyre reliable at this point? In defence of his account it might be argued that William should be expected to have precise information on the history of his own church.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the controversy which developed over Tyre was a sore point with William, and he included in his great history many of the documents which provide the basis for this article. On the other hand, A. C. Krey has suggested that William inserted most of his material concerning the controversy into his history sometime after the year 1175.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps a space of some seventy years would reduce the accuracy of even so careful a historian as William. Indeed, his chronology for the early history of the Latin Hierarchy of Tyre is vague and uncertain.<sup>4</sup> In addition, as we shall have occasion to indicate below, William was not above suppressing evidence dealing with the controversy.<sup>5</sup> Thus it is suggested that considerable caution should be exercised in using William's account of the early beginnings of the controversy. Specifically, with regard to Tortosa and Jubail, since no reference by name to any bishops for these cities can be found in William or in any official document dating from this period,<sup>6</sup> it may be proposed with some certainty that the Patriarch Bernard was content for the present to hold Tortosa and Jubail vacant.<sup>7</sup> He probably intended to return these

<sup>1</sup> WT, xiv. 14, 626-7.

<sup>2</sup> William of Tyre, the great historian of the Latin Orient, became archbishop of Tyre in 1175. He was the second archbishop by that name and should be distinguished from Archbishop William I of Tyre, 1127/8-34/5.

<sup>3</sup> William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea*, ed. and trans. A. C. Krey and E. A. Babcock (New York, 1943), ii. 36, n. 50, p. 69, n. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, p. 165, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra*, p. 180, notes 2 and 3.

<sup>6</sup> I refer here to those which can be found in such collections as R. Röhrich, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (Innsbruck, 1893-1904), hereafter abbreviated RR, and E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'Église du S. Sépulchre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1849).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Richard, *op. cit.* p. 58. In a more recent work, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), p. 97, Richard makes the sound observation that the Latin episcopate spread but slowly through the areas held by the crusaders. This is supported by Hotzelt, *op. cit.* p. 8. I can find no record of any bishops for Jubail and Tortosa during this period. See Cahen, *op. cit.* p. 322-3 and Röhrich, "Syria sacra", pp. 26, 31.

cities, as well as Tripoli, to the immediate jurisdiction of Tyre when and if that city were recovered from the heathen and an archbishop installed therein. Of course, Bernard planned that it would be his archbishop who would be placed in Tyre, and thus Tyre and its suffragans would be restored to their traditional position within the patriarchate of Antioch.

The Patriarch Bernard might well have high hopes for the fulfilment of these ambitions. The tradition, after all, was on his side. Nonetheless, there were certain developments which did not augur well for his plans. Politically speaking, Tripoli, Tortosa and Jubail were all part of the Latin country of Tripoli. After the death of William Jordan, the vassal of Antioch, all of the county was united under Bertrand of Toulouse, the vassal of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem. There was now a strong possibility that the county's ecclesiastical allegiance might follow its new political orientation towards Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

Of far greater danger to his plans was the fact that by the year 1110, Beirut, Sidon and Acre had been captured by the kingdom of Jerusalem. William of Tyre reports that the Patriarch Gibelin of Jerusalem provided bishops for these cities immediately upon their capture from the infidel. The criticisms given above of William's account of the early history of the ecclesiastical province of Tyre apply here, and his evidence is rendered all the more suspect in that he describes Gibelin as justifying his actions on the basis of a papal decree which was not issued until June, 1111.<sup>2</sup> We may therefore conclude that the patriarch of Jerusalem at first kept these episcopal churches empty of bishops.

However, it was only natural that he eventually became concerned to restore the episcopate to these cities. Such action would be advantageous to himself if only because it would strengthen his control over the cities concerned. That the three episcopal sees belonged by tradition to Tyre and Antioch probably did not trouble him. Was not possession nine-tenths of the law, and should not therefore the ecclesiastical tradition

<sup>1</sup> For the early history of the county of Tripoli, see Cahen, *op. cit.* p. 244 f. and Setton, *op. cit.* i. 397-8.

<sup>2</sup> WT, xiv. 14, 626-7. For the episcopal succession in these cities, Röhrich, "Syria sacra", pp. 20, 23, 30.

be altered in favour of Jerusalem? Seeking advice and assistance, Gibelin consulted King Baldwin.<sup>1</sup> In all likelihood, Gibelin argued that if Beirut, Sidon and Acre acknowledged Jerusalem's king they should also acknowledge Jerusalem's patriarch. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction should follow upon temporal jurisdiction. Convinced by Gibelin's arguments, Baldwin appealed to Rome, and on 8 June 1111 he received the assent of Paschal II to his proposal that all towns and provinces which he had recovered or might recover from the heathen were to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Jerusalem church.<sup>2</sup> It is quite probable that Paschal had no clear idea as to the nature and ramifications of the problem. Baldwin's request that Jerusalem's ecclesiastical jurisdiction follow upon the jurisdiction of the king of Jerusalem must have seemed to be a routine matter, arising out of the normal expansion of the Latins in the East.<sup>3</sup>

However, there may have been a deeper motive behind the papal decision. It is possible that Paschal hoped to demonstrate by his decree the full implications of papal supremacy over the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem. The extension of the

<sup>1</sup> Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), p. 98, and Hotzelt, op. cit. p. 76, suggest that Gibelin precipitated the controversy by nominating a bishop for Beirut. This judgement is based upon a reference in RR, no. 58, dated 1111, to "A. ep. Biterrensis". To locate this unknown bishop in the see of Beirut seems to me to be somewhat hazardous. For the first reliable reference to a bishop in Beirut, *infra*, p. 167, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> These letters are JL, 6297-8; PL, 163, 289-90; RR, now 60-1. They are preserved in WT, xi. 28, 502-3. A shortened version of the papal letter to Gibelin may also be found in Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 742-5.

<sup>3</sup> It is appropriate here to refer to the much debated problem of the relationship between *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* in the early years of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The opinion of many authorities has been that the original intention of the crusaders was to create an ecclesiastical patrimony in the Holy Land. See W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 42 f., p. 68; Grousset, op. cit. i. 164 f.; Hansen, op. cit., *passim*; M. Villey, *La Croisade* (Paris, 1942), pp. 168-77. Reference to other writers of similar opinion will be found in my article, op. cit., esp. pp. 471-90, wherein I attempted to criticize this interpretation. Closely connected with this problem is the question of papal suzerainty in the Latin Orient. For this, *infra*, p. 175, n. 1. While both problems are beyond the scope of this article, it may be suggested, with reference to this papal decision, that here is no papal meddling in temporal affairs, no assertion of suzerainty over the Latin Orient. The essential point of Paschal's decree concerns ecclesiastical matters.

boundaries of the Jerusalem patriarchate was perhaps designed to show that the patriarchs of the East were metropolitans and primates, and nothing more. It could also be suggested that the Papacy had good reason to emphasize its supremacy, particularly with regard to Antioch. In this connection, it is pertinent to note that there is almost no evidence for any papal dealings with the patriarchate of Antioch during this early period, and the silence of the documents leads us to suspect that the Patriarch Bernard had gone his own way, quite independently of Rome. Further, the Treaty of Devol (1108) had recognized the rights of the Greek Church over the patriarchal see of Antioch.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps for these reasons Paschal felt that Antioch needed to be taken in hand and incorporated more fully into the papal obedience. A display of papal authority might in this connection prove useful and hence the decrees of June 1111.

Thus the Patriarch Gibelin obtained a canonical basis for his control of Beirut, Sidon and Acre. That he proceeded to act upon the papal decision is indicated by the fact that now for the first time we find reference made to a bishop for one of these cities, Baldwin, Bishop-elect of Beirut.<sup>2</sup> To the north, Bernard was moved to protest. Most of the southern portion of his patriarchate, which was held by the Latins, had been conquered by Jerusalem. Even the claim of Antioch to Tripoli was now in question since that city had been conquered by armies commanded by Baldwin of Jerusalem. To his letters of protest, however, the Papacy replied in August 1112, saying on the one hand that it had acted only out of a desire to preserve peace and harmony between Antioch and Jerusalem and on the other that the Apostolic See had the right to alter the boundaries, even of patriarchates, if it judged it expedient to do so.<sup>3</sup> The papal answer did not satisfy Bernard of Antioch. He consulted with the Prince Roger, and together they decided to make another appeal to Rome. Their legates arrived before Paschal during the papal synod at Benevento in February, 1113. In substance, the legates asked the Papacy to protect the ancient boundaries of the Antioch patriarchate against the encroachments of Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1937-45), iii. 125-9.

<sup>2</sup> RR, no. 69.

<sup>3</sup> JL, 6328; PL, 163, 303-4; WT, xi. 28, 503-4.



by establishing the rights of Antioch over Tyre and all its suffragan bishoprics, including not only the churches of Tripoli but also Beirut, Sidon and Acre.<sup>1</sup>

It is likely that now, for the first time, the Papacy realized how serious the situation was in the Latin Orient. It was not a question of some minor adjustment of boundaries between the patriarchates. Clearly the Papacy was being called upon to make a decision touching the fundamental relationship between the spiritual and temporal powers in the Latin Orient. The argument of Jerusalem had been that ecclesiastical jurisdiction should follow upon temporal jurisdiction. Was the Papacy to accept this as the rule, no matter what the consequences were for the ancient prerogatives of the Antioch patriarchs? Yet, on the other hand, what might happen if the Papacy confirmed the traditional boundaries of the Antioch Patriarchate? Perhaps the Prince Roger, for whom the Antioch legates had spoken as well as for the Patriarch Bernard, might be inclined to extend his own power southward, at the expense of Jerusalem, arguing that temporal jurisdiction should follow upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the reverse of Jerusalem's attitude. Plainly the conflict in ecclesiastical jurisdiction had within it the seeds of strife between the two leading states of the Latin Orient.

That the Papacy was uncertain of a proper course of action is clearly revealed in the following events. At first, during the Benevento synod, Paschal sided with Jerusalem against Antioch. In this he relied upon a decree promulgated by Urban II at Clermont. This decree had promised to the leaders of the First Crusade the possession of all territory which they might conquer from the infidel, and further, that the churches restored to Christian hands were to belong to the principalities which the crusaders might establish. Therefore to Jerusalem, king and patriarch, belonged all territory which had been conquered or might be conquered by Baldwin. To Bernard and Roger belonged only that territory which the principality of Antioch could claim by right of conquest.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. V. Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta Pontificum Romanorum Inedita* (Tübingen, 1881-8), ii. 205. See also JL, i. p. 749 and RR, no. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Another version of Urban's decree is in Hagenmeyer, *Fulcher*, iii. 34, 739-42. The presence of the Antioch legates at Benevento is attested by PL, 163, 314.

Yet within a few weeks Paschal thought better of his decision. Perhaps the Antioch legates made another appeal. Perhaps they argued that Urban could not have foreseen the present situation and that therefore his decree was not applicable. Perhaps they pointed out to Paschal that his decision was one which was contrary to the *raison d'être* of the church of Rome. The Papacy was the supreme guardian of the traditions of the Catholic Church, and yet Paschal had set one of those traditions aside. The Papacy, exercising those powers which the Gregorian reformers had successfully claimed for it barely two generations before, had sacrificed the *sacerdotium* to the *regnum*.

Whatever the reason, Paschal soon reversed the decision given at Benevento. His new attitude may be seen in letters written to Bernard of Antioch and Baldwin of Jerusalem in the early spring of 1113.<sup>1</sup> It was this: the church of Jerusalem could have only those cities and areas which had either clearly belonged to the Jerusalem patriarchate in early times or for which no ancient ecclesiastical allegiance could be determined. However, if Baldwin captured a city belonging by tradition to the patriarchate of Antioch, then, while he might remain there supreme in things temporal, the city was to be given over into the spiritual jurisdiction of the Antioch patriarchs. In summing up his new policy, Paschal insisted that he did not wish the dignity of a church to be sacrificed for the sake of the power of a prince, nor did he wish the power of a prince to be reduced for the sake of an ecclesiastical dignity.

In other words, the basic principle of the new papal policy was that ecclesiastical allegiance was one thing, temporal allegiance another, and that both were to be respected. It is possible that Paschal here was under the influence of the distinction between spiritual and temporal powers advocated by Ivo of Chartres, a distinction already coming into effect in France and England and which eventually served as the basic principle for the Concordat of Worms.<sup>2</sup> When applied to the situation in the Latin Orient, this new doctrine could be interpreted to mean

<sup>1</sup> JL, 6343-4; PL, 163, 316-7; WT, xi, 504-5.

<sup>2</sup> A. Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Reconquête chrétienne* (Paris, 1950), p. 347 f., pp. 387-90.

that it was no longer necessary to make ecclesiastical and temporal allegiances coincide. Therefore there was no need to change the traditional ecclesiastical boundaries in the Latin Orient for the sake of conformity with existing political divisions. Regardless of the political boundaries, ecclesiastical allegiances would henceforth be determined, for the most part, by the ancient ecclesiastical tradition. A vestige of the original decision remained, however, in that the Pope acknowledged the right of the Jerusalem patriarch to control any reconquered area which did not fall into the traditional division between the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem.

However, it was one thing to enunciate a new policy and quite another thing to have it enforced. The patriarchs of Jerusalem seem to have assumed a position combining indifference with discretion. Despite Paschal's final decision, they gave no sign of any intention of abandoning Beirut, Sidon and Acre into the hands of the patriarchs of Antioch. If any excuse were required to justify this action, no doubt they were prepared to plead that the needs of the kingdom would not permit the separation of ecclesiastical allegiances from temporal loyalties. Nonetheless, Jerusalem was prepared to be discreet. The patriarch stopped any plan he might have had for placing bishops in Sidon and Acre, and perhaps he even went so far as to force Baldwin, Bishop-elect of Beirut, to withdraw from his see until Jerusalem's claim to Beirut might be more fully established.<sup>1</sup> As evidence for these assertions, we can point to the silence of those documents which deal with two events in which the clergy of the Latin Kingdom played an important part. The first of these was the great council of the realm at Nablus in 1120. William of Tyre tells us that all the prelates of the realm were present, and he even enumerates the names of the bishops and their sees.<sup>2</sup> The second was the treaty between Jerusalem and the Venetians, signed in 1123. William informs us that the

<sup>1</sup> The next documentary reference to Baldwin of Beirut is probably 1133. *Infra*, p. 176, n. 2. "Syria sacra", p. 23, incorrectly gives the year 1132. The evidence supporting this date is from 1139, not 1132. See RR, no. 186; WT, xiv. 13, 625; *infra*, p. 182, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> WT, xii. 13, 531-2. *Translatio mirifici martyris S. Isidori*, RHCOc v, i. 322-3; La Monte, *op. cit.* p. 9; RR, no. 89.

Patriarch Gormond was present with all his "suffragan brethren". The names of the bishops appear at the bottom of the treaty.<sup>1</sup> Yet neither here nor in the episcopal lists for Nablus is there any mention of bishops for the three cities in question. Their absence, in the case of the Venetian treaty, is all the more striking when we recall that the treaty was signed in the church of the Holy Cross in Acre. Thus, while the Jerusalem patriarch was determined to control these cities, he was also prepared to keep them *sede vacante*. He hoped that his discretion in this regard might camouflage Jerusalem's indifference to the final decrees of Paschal II.

To the north, Bernard of Antioch continued much as before. It is true that his power was somewhat weakened by the fact that Baldwin II had obtained effective overlordship of the principality after the disaster of "The Field of Blood" had carried off Prince Roger and the main strength of the Antioch baronage.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, despite Baldwin's ascendancy over the Latin states, the drift of the county of Tripoli towards Jerusalem had been arrested. Pons of Tripoli had married the widow of the Prince Tancred in 1115,<sup>3</sup> and his attempt in 1122 to throw off his ties of vassalage to Jerusalem, if unsuccessful, showed that the county of Tripoli was determined to return to its former political alignment with the principality of Antioch.<sup>4</sup> This political development and the fact that the final decrees of Paschal placed the entire county of Tripoli within the jurisdiction of the Antioch patriarchate combined to give Bernard a free hand in the ecclesiastical affairs of the county.<sup>5</sup> Not only this, there was no reason for Bernard to despair of obtaining Tyre for himself. Even if the kingdom of Jerusalem effected the capture of Tyre, the final opinion of Paschal concerning the assignment of territory

<sup>1</sup> WT, xii. 25, 553.

<sup>2</sup> Walter the Chancellor, *De Bello Antiocheno*, RHCOc v, i. 101-11, 129-31; Hagenmayer, *Fulcher*, pp. 621-3, 633-5; WT, xii. 9-14, 523-34. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ed. J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1899-1910), iii. 201; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, RHC Documents arméniens (Paris, 1869-1906), i. 121-4.

<sup>3</sup> WT, xi. 18, 483-4.

<sup>4</sup> Hagenmayer, *Fulcher*, pp. 647-8; WT, xii. 17, 536-7.

<sup>5</sup> As William of Tyre acknowledges, xiv. 14, 626. For additional proof of Bernard's power over Tripoli, see RR, no. 107.

conquered from the heathen was on Bernard's side. Tyre's ancient position within the patriarchate of Antioch was known to all.

Thus Antioch retained the county of Tripoli and Jerusalem the churches of Beirut, Sidon and Acre. Yet far more significant than mere indifference by Jerusalem to Paschal's final decrees was the clear indication that as far as both parties were concerned, papal power was something not to be obeyed, but rather to be used or ignored according to the dictates of ambition and aggression. It cannot be said that the Papacy was totally guiltless in this development. From Antioch's point of view the controversy had been precipitated by Paschal's ill-considered action in 1111. From Jerusalem's point of view the Papacy had shown itself indecisive and unreliable in Paschal's final decrees of 1113. Indeed, when in the late summer of 1121, the cardinal legate, Peter of Porto, came to give Gormond of Jerusalem his pall, he ignored the entire situation.<sup>1</sup> His silence was not calculated to restrain effectively the ambitions of the king and patriarch of Jerusalem. It suggested that if the Papacy had changed its mind before it might change its mind again, and further, that the present attitude of indifference to papal commands might be continued indefinitely. In any event, the role played by the Papacy in the controversy had done little to advance the prestige of the Apostolic See in the Latin Orient.

## II. *The Capture of Tyre*

By the year 1122 it was clear that the capture of Tyre by the kingdom of Jerusalem was imminent. The Patriarch Gormond of Jerusalem realized that by the terms of Paschal's decrees of 1113 the church of Tyre would have to be surrendered to the patriarch of Antioch. It would thus become increasingly difficult to keep the churches of Beirut, Sidon and Acre within the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Accordingly Gormond now planned a bold stroke: he would steal a march on Antioch and stake out a claim to the see of Tyre, papal decision or not.

<sup>1</sup> JL, 6922; PL, 163, 1216-17; RR, no. 96. Since the papal letter is dated 6 July, 1121, and evidence in PL, 163, 1228, indicates that the Cardinal was back in Rome by 28 December, 1121, we are able to estimate the approximate date for Peter's visit to the East.



Therefore, sometime in 1122-3, Gormond consecrated a certain Odo as archbishop of Tyre. Unfortunately for his plans, his archbishop died just before the city was captured on 7 July 1124.<sup>1</sup>

Gormond's motives at this point become more obscure. He did not replace Odo, and the see of Tyre remained vacant. William of Tyre attributes this action to *supina et crassa prudentia*.<sup>2</sup> His meaning is not entirely clear. Did Gormond, now more hesitant, fear that the consecration of an archbishop for Tyre might provoke the anger of Antioch and Rome? Did he perhaps decide that it was better for all concerned to keep control of the church of Tyre—and its revenues? Or did he reflect on what might happen if he placed an archbishop in Tyre only to see the same archbishop, after consecrating bishops for Beirut, Sidon and Acre, renounce his allegiance to Jerusalem and desert to Antioch, taking his suffragans with him? Whatever his reasons, Tyre remained without an archbishop.

However, he could not keep the see of Tyre vacant forever. It needed its own master to rescue it from confusion and decay. Besides, Bernard of Antioch was continuing to strengthen his grasp on the county of Tripoli. In 1127 he consecrated a bishop for Tortosa, and this reminded Gormond that Bernard would never relinquish his claim to Tyre without a struggle.<sup>3</sup> Thus eventually Gormond was obliged to replace prudence with

<sup>1</sup> Hagenmeyer, *Fulcher*, pp. 647-8; WT, xiii. 13, 23, xiv. 11, 575, 592, 621; Le Quien, op. cit. iii. 1311; Röhricht, "Syria sacra", p. 17. The date of consecration is uncertain but 1122 is likely.

<sup>2</sup> WT, xiii. 23, 592.

<sup>3</sup> RR, no. 118; Cahen, op. cit. p. 322; Röhricht, "Syria sacra", p. 31. Mention should be made here of the episcopal see of Raphanea, captured by Pons of Tripoli in March 1126 (WT, xii. 19, 585-6). Richard (*Le Comté de Tripoli*, pp. 58-9) says that Raphanea was part of the Tripoli episcopate. It is true that Raphanea belonged to Pons by right of conquest. However, by tradition it was subject to the metropolitan see of Apamea and therefore to the patriarchate of Antioch. See Devreesse, op. cit. p. 183. Its position *vis-à-vis* Apamea and Antioch was never questioned during the long controversy over Tyre. There has been some doubt as to its first bishop. Richard (loc. cit., and in his "Note sur . . . Apamée", p. 107) names Aimery as first bishop followed by Gerald. The latter is listed as first bishop by Cahen, loc. cit., and "Syria sacra", p. 29. That Aimery preceded Gerald in the see is supported by evidence in J. Delaville Leroulx, "Inventaire de Pièces de Terre Sainte de l'Ordre de l'Hôpital", *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iii (1895), 46, no. 8.

boldness, and he consecrated the aged but godly William, Prior of the Holy Sepulchre, as archbishop of Tyre sometime in the winter of 1127-8. However, difficulties soon arose between patriarch and archbishop. When William attempted to go to Rome to receive his pall, Gormond prevented him by force from making the journey. The patriarch was driven to such extreme measures by his fear of what might result if William appeared in Rome to ask for recognition of his position as metropolitan of Tyre within the patriarchate of Jerusalem and what trouble he might cause the Jerusalem church when he returned to the East, armed with his metropolitan authority.<sup>1</sup>

Yet such high-handed action accomplished nothing. It did not solve the problem of Tyre and, in addition, if William were not allowed to exercise his traditional prerogatives as a metropolitan, there could be little peace within the Jerusalem church. In his perplexity, and following the example of his predecessor Gibelin, Gormond turned to King Baldwin II for help. It is easy to reconstruct their thinking in the light of what followed. They agreed that there could be no separation between ecclesiastical and temporal allegiances in the Latin Orient. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction must follow upon temporal jurisdiction. If Tyre belonged to the kingdom of Jerusalem, then Tyre must also belong to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The final decrees of Paschal must therefore be rescinded by the Papacy. It is probable, too, that Baldwin observed, for his part, that as long as Bernard remained supreme in the churches of Tripoli, there would be a continuing diminution of Jerusalem's political power in the county of Tripoli. The answer to the entire situation was to have the Papacy grant William his pall and place the entire province of Tyre, including the suffragans of Tripoli, within the patriarchate of Jerusalem. To obtain these objectives, William, Archbishop of Tyre and Roger, Bishop of Ramleh, were sent to Rome in the early spring of 1128.

The result was an overwhelming victory for Jerusalem, and the nature of this victory may be seen in a letter written by Pope Honorius II to Baldwin II, dated 29 May 1128.<sup>2</sup> In this the Pope was pleased to repeat the action of his predecessor, Paschal

<sup>1</sup> WT, xiii. 23, 592.

<sup>2</sup> JL, 7314; PL, 166, 1279-80; RR, no. 122.

II, by "conceding" the kingdom of Jerusalem to Baldwin and his successors, and with his apostolic authority Honorious declared inviolate the honour and integrity of the kingdom and church of Jerusalem. This decree has attracted much attention, particularly from those scholars who are persuaded that the kingdom of Jerusalem was a fief of the Papacy. A thorough investigation of the problem of papal suzerainty in the Latin Orient is far beyond the scope of this article. Whatever the merits of the case, it seems likely that Honorious was only doing here what Paschal had done in June 1111, when the latter had decided that the power of the Jerusalem patriarch should follow upon the power of Jerusalem's king. In effect, Honorious was re-affirming the first decision of Paschal and setting aside Paschal's final decrees of 1113. Tyre, not papal suzerainty, was the issue in this letter of May 1128, and by the same decree, Tyre now belonged to Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

The action of Honorious need occasion no surprise. Paschal's attempt to separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction from temporal jurisdiction had been a manifest failure, and it was easy to believe that such a division was prejudicial to the strength of the Latin establishments in the East. Since it was the duty of the Papacy to direct and foster in a general way the growth and welfare of the Latin states, it was necessary that the Papacy return to Paschal's original decision and make ecclesiastical boundaries depend upon temporal boundaries. From this it followed that Tyre belonged to Jerusalem. If Antioch objected, it could be replied that Jerusalem was far more significant than Antioch. The protection of Jerusalem's shrines was the entire purpose behind the crusade, and it was therefore fitting that the kingdom and patriarchate of Jerusalem be strengthened in every possible way.

<sup>1</sup> H. S. Fink (in Setton, *op. cit.* i. 379, n. 15) interprets the decree of Honorious as a declaration of papal suzerainty over Jerusalem, and Runciman (*op. cit.* ii. 310) speaks for many scholars when he advances in guarded fashion the opinion that the king of Jerusalem was the vassal of the Roman Church. The most convincing rebuttal of this interpretation is to be found in M. W. Baldwin, "The Papacy and the Levant", p. 283. In this connection, a comparison of this papal letter with other contemporary papal documents enunciating papal suzerainty, e.g. JL, 8590, 8600, is instructive. While I agree with Baldwin, I must add that the problem is exceedingly difficult and probably incapable of a definitive solution.

Yet if it is easy to see why Honorius was persuaded to give Tyre to Jerusalem, it is not so easy to understand why in the following weeks he also proceeded to give the churches of Tripoli to Tyre and Jerusalem. Having granted Archbishop William his pall, Honorius now ordered the bishops of Tripoli to transfer their allegiance from Antioch to the archbishop of Tyre and the patriarch of Jerusalem. Bernard of Antioch was told in summary fashion to withdraw from Tripoli.<sup>1</sup> Although King Baldwin I had led the expedition which had captured the city of Tripoli, it could not be said that Jerusalem had conquered the entire county, thus giving the Jerusalem church the right to claim the county as its own. Nor was the "honour and integrity" of the kingdom of Jerusalem involved since, although in vassalage to Jerusalem, the county of Tripoli was not, technically speaking, a part of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Nonetheless, these indisputable facts were not as convincing as the arguments put forward by Roger and William in their capacity as spokesmen for the collective ambitions of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in Jerusalem. It was but natural that William requested the Pope to restore the unity of the ecclesiastical province of Tyre. The churches of Tripoli by tradition belonged to Tyre, and if the Papacy transferred Tyre to Jerusalem, it was proper that the Papacy transfer all of the suffragans of Tyre to Jerusalem. On the other hand, Roger of Ramleh probably argued that since Tripoli was the vassal of Jerusalem, its churches must acknowledge the ecclesiastical suzerainty of Jerusalem. Whether by truth or clever misrepresentation, William and Roger obtained what they wanted. All of Tyre now belonged to Jerusalem.

When Archbishop William returned to the East, he proceeded to provide bishops for Sidon, Acre and perhaps even for Beirut. Baldwin, possibly the same Baldwin described above as Bishop-elect of Beirut, appears in possession of his see by the year 1133.<sup>2</sup> As for Acre, we find a certain John described in 1129 as *praepositus ecclesiae Acconensis*, and, in a document dated 1135, as *primus episcopus Acconensis*.<sup>3</sup> For Sidon we find reference in 1133 to

<sup>1</sup> JL, 7315-7; PL, 166, 1280-1; WT, xiii. 23, 592-3; RR, no. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 170, n. 1; RR, no. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Röhricht, "Syria sacra", p. 20; RR, nos. 127, 155.

Bernard, the first Latin bishop of that church.<sup>1</sup> Yet there is some doubt as to just how far these suffragan bishops were allowed to accept the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Tyre. It is clear that the experience of Archbishop William under the patriarch of Jerusalem was far from happy, and there is good reason to believe that the patriarch did not allow William full exercise of his rights as metropolitan.<sup>2</sup> The bitterness of the church of Tyre towards Jerusalem for its treatment of the metropolitan and the suffragans of Tyre was to have an important bearing on the controversy in future years.

No evidence survives to inform us precisely of Bernard of Antioch's reaction to the decisions of Honorius II. If he protested to Rome, the letter does not remain. The political strength of Antioch continued at low ebb due to the ravaging of the principality by Joscelin of Edessa and the early death in battle of Bohemund II in 1130. Jerusalem thus retained its position of superiority over Antioch.<sup>3</sup> Yet such superiority was bitterly resented by many, especially the Princess Alice of Antioch who hated Baldwin II and his successor, Fulc of Anjou. Against the latter she inspired a conspiracy which encouraged Pons of Tripoli in 1132 to attempt once again to throw off the yoke of vassalage to Jerusalem. This attempt proved as unsuccessful as the previous one.<sup>4</sup> However, relations between Tripoli and Jerusalem were increasingly tenuous, and there was little to prevent Bernard of Antioch from continuing his control of the churches of Tripoli. At this time, he provided a bishop for Jubail, Romanus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Röhricht, "Syria sacra", p. 31, lists Bernard for the year 1131 on the basis of evidence in William of Tyre. This evidence should be dated 1139, RR, n. 186, *infra*, p. 182, n. 3. The first documentary reference to Bernard is dated 1133, RR, no. 144.

<sup>2</sup> WT, xiv. 14, 626-7, says that after the installation of a Latin archbishop in Tyre the Jerusalem patriarch returned Beirut, Sidon and Acre to Tyre's jurisdiction. This is contradicted by his report (xiv. 13, 624) that when William's successor, Fulcher of Tyre, returned from Rome in 1138 then, and only then, did the archbishops of Tyre succeed in exercising their metropolitan rights over the three cities. The second report is undoubtedly the correct one.

<sup>3</sup> WT, xiii. 22, 27, 590-1, 598-601.

<sup>4</sup> WT, xiv. 4-5, 611-4.

<sup>5</sup> Röhricht ("Syria sacra", p. 27) lists Romanus under the see of Jabala. Romanus belongs under Jubail as is clearly shown by the papal confirmation cited in p. 178, n. 2. His successor at Jubail was Hugh, also listed by Röhricht under



By this consecration, Bernard and his bishops in Tripoli indicated that they chose to ignore the decrees of Honorius II.

The Papacy seems to have accepted this defiance of its commands without demur. In this connection we note that the papal decisions on Tyre and Tripoli were given into the care of the papal legate, Giles of Tusculum. Yet when Giles arrived in the East he did nothing to force Bernard of Antioch and the bishops of Tripoli to obey the papal decrees. Giles realized that any determined effort to enforce obedience might only serve to strengthen their resistance. Besides, the problem of Tyre was so distorted by political animosities that the greatest caution was necessary. Tripoli was best left alone, if only for the time being.<sup>1</sup> That the Papacy adopted this attitude is shown by the fact that Pope Innocent II in 1133 confirmed Romanus as Bishop of Jubail without raising the problem of Romanus's allegiance to the patriarch of Antioch.<sup>2</sup> Of course, the Papacy had been in schism since 1130, and it may be that Innocent in confirming Romanus was attempting to get the support of the Tripoli bishops in his struggle against the anti-Pope Anacletus.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the confirmation of Romanus probably indicates that the Papacy was quite willing to leave Tripoli with Antioch.

Jabala. The documentary evidence cited in regard to Hugh shows that he was bishop in Jubail (c.) 1139. See RR, no. 184. However, there was a bishop, Hugh of Jabala, as is proved by evidence in Otto of Freising, *Chronicon* vii. 33, MGHSS, xx. p. 266, and WT, xv. 16, 683. Cahen (op. cit. p. 322) knows of this Hugh of Jabala but does not list the names of Romanus or Hugh under the see of Jubail, 323. Richard (*Le Comté de Tripoli*, p. 58, n. 3) saw Röhrich's error but failed to realize that there were two bishops named Hugh, one for Jabala and one for Jubail. Le Quien (op. cit. iii. 1169-70, 1177) knew that there were two Hughs, one for each see, but unfortunately he thought that Romanus belonged to Jabala and not to Jubail.

<sup>1</sup> We know little of Giles's sojourn in the East although William of Tyre tells us (xiii. 23, 593) that the legate himself wrote letters to the people of Antioch. William had seen these letters, but unfortunately he did not see fit to quote them in his history.

<sup>2</sup> JL, 7627.

<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to suppose with Cahen, op. cit. p. 316, that the Latin Orient, angered by the way that the papacy had handled the problem of the disputed sees, had sided with Anacletus. For Anacletus's claim of the support of the Latin Orient, see JL, 8413. That Innocent was acknowledged by the patriarch of Jerusalem is shown in JL, 7531, PL, 179, 119. See also *Annales Reicherspergenses*, MGHSS, xvi. 16, p. 454 and RR, no. 140.

Thus the division of the province of Tyre between Jerusalem and Antioch assumed at this time the quality of permanence.

That the Papacy accepted the refusal of Antioch to surrender the churches of Tripoli was probably due to something more than a clear recognition of the dangers involved in forcing its commands upon a recalcitrant patriarch and a disobedient episcopate. The Papacy could surely see the weaknesses of its own position. In particular, the decrees of Honorius II were open to the charge of profound inconsistency. They denied the ancient tradition by assigning Tyre to Jerusalem. They affirmed the same tradition by ordering the bishops of Tripoli to submit to the metropolitan of Tyre. Saner minds in the papal curia must thus have seen that it was reasonable for Antioch to feel that Rome had acted unjustly and had become the willing instrument of the ambitions of Jerusalem. It was therefore the wisest course to ignore Antioch's disobedience. If Jerusalem had Tyre and Antioch Tripoli, then perhaps the controversy would die a natural death.

### III. *Fulcher of Tyre*

William of Tyre died in the winter of 1134-5. His successor was Fulcher of Acquitaine, former Abbot of the canons of Celles.<sup>1</sup> More than anything else, Fulcher wished to bring unity to the province of Tyre. Past experience had shown that Tyre could not be united within the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Perhaps unity might be achieved under Antioch. Supported in his plans by the bishops of Beirut, Sidon and Acre, Fulcher turned towards Antioch, seeking assistance from the patriarch.<sup>2</sup>

The church of Antioch had acquired a new master. The Patriarch Bernard had died in 1135, and his successor was a formidable man. Through skilful manipulation of the Antioch

<sup>1</sup> WT, xiv. 11, 621-2. Hotzelt (op. cit. pp. 98-9) has a good summary of Fulcher's activities as metropolitan of Tyre which is to be preferred to Grousset, op. cit. ii, pp. 25-6. However, both accounts suffer from an insufficiently critical examination of the evidence in William of Tyre and from a failure to give proper weight to those papal letters which William excluded from his history.

<sup>2</sup> Grousset, loc. cit., incorrectly suggests that Fulcher was motivated at this point by a desire to achieve independence from both Antioch and Jerusalem.

mob and the Princess Alice, Ralph of Domfront, Archbishop of Mamistra, had forced the clergy of Antioch to accept him as patriarch. Disregarding the authority of Rome, he seized the pall of his predecessor and proceeded to rule the patriarchate of Antioch, crushing all opposition by violence and cruelty.<sup>1</sup> Ralph was just the man to extend his authority when and if the occasion offered, and he therefore welcomed Fulcher's proposal to bring the entire province of Tyre under the authority of Antioch.

Thus, by the year 1137, the Patriarch William of Jerusalem was confronted with the possible defection of Fulcher and his suffragans from his jurisdiction. Quite naturally, he appealed to Rome for help. Innocent II acted promptly. A series of papal letters in July 1137 and March 1138, commanded Fulcher and his bishops to obey the patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> In their turn, Fulcher and his episcopal brethren responded with a series of arguments, justifying their action. They cited the mistreatment which Fulcher's predecessor had received from William of Jerusalem. They pointed out that the Jerusalem patriarchs had refused to give to Tyre the same pre-eminent position which Tyre had held within the Antioch patriarchate as premier suffragan metropolitan. Most of all, they argued that submission to Jerusalem had brought loss and humiliation to the province of Tyre, now divided between two patriarchs and thus deprived of its integrity and unity.

Innocent turned a deaf ear to these arguments. In July 1138 he reiterated his demand that Fulcher and his suffragans submit to Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> However, at the same time the Pope rebuked William of Jerusalem for his lack of regard for the

<sup>1</sup> WT, xiv. 10, 619-20.

<sup>2</sup> JL, 7847, 7875 ; PL, 179, 329, 347 ; RR, nos. 171, 175. These letters are not preserved in William of Tyre, who doubtless wished to pass lightly over this attempt by Fulcher to defy both Rome and Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> JL, 7908 ; PL, 179, 372 ; RR, no. 178. This letter is also not found in William of Tyre. The references to the patriarch of Antioch reveal the active role played by Ralph at this stage of the controversy. Hotzelt (op. cit. pp. 98-9) fails to appreciate this, depicting Ralph as unalterably opposed to Fulcher. Yet how would Fulcher have secured the support of the Tripoli episcopate without Ralph's active encouragement?

feelings of Fulcher and his bishops. He reminded the patriarch how the Jerusalem church had become more powerful through papal patronage. It was therefore incumbent upon him to be all the more generous with those who owed him obedience. Fulcher had been ordered to accept William as his primate. Now it was William's part to honour Fulcher by granting him the first place among the suffragan metropolitans of Jerusalem. Just as Tyre by tradition had pride of place under Antioch, so she should have the same position under Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

Papal opposition eventually forced Fulcher to reconsider his plans. It was foolish, after all, to attempt to escape from Jerusalem. All papal opposition aside, Tyre was an integral part of the realm, and the kingdom of Jerusalem would never permit its withdrawal from the Jerusalem patriarchate. Besides, Ralph of Antioch was not really capable of assisting Fulcher in his struggle to restore the unity of Tyre. Ralph's position was steadily deteriorating. The Antioch clergy hated him, and this hatred was encouraged by Raymond of Poitiers, since 1136 the Prince of Antioch.<sup>2</sup> In addition to this, Fulcher was aware of the insecurity of his own position. He had not been recognized by Rome as metropolitan of Tyre, and he did not have his pall. Without this recognition, his authority over his own church and suffragans was open to question at any moment. All in all, his attempt to withdraw from Jerusalem would accomplish nothing. The only thing left to do was to shift his tack and unify the province of Tyre, this time within the patriarchate of Jerusalem.

Consonant with this change in policy, Fulcher appeared in Rome in the fall of 1138 to ask for his pall. He used the occasion to present another detailed brief of what the archbishops of Tyre had suffered, and were suffering, at the hands of the Jerusalem patriarchs. As in the case of his predecessor, Fulcher also accused the patriarch of attempting to prevent him from going to Rome to receive his pall. His complaints made an impression on Innocent. Having granted Fulcher his pall, the Pope wrote again to William of Jerusalem commanding that he grant to Tyre the same position of honour which that church

<sup>1</sup> JL, 7906; PL, 179, 370; WT, xiv. 12, 623-4; RR, no. 176.

<sup>2</sup> WT, xiv. 20, 635-7.

had formerly enjoyed under the patriarchs of Antioch. Further, Innocent demanded that William award adequate compensation for any damages which the church of Tyre had sustained at the hands of the Jerusalem patriarchs. As for the problem of the unity of the province of Tyre, Innocent told Fulcher that the Papacy would take the entire matter under review. For the present, however, his place was within the patriarchate of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, despite the commands of the Pope, when Fulcher returned to the Latin Orient he encountered only increased difficulties. There was no compensation forthcoming from William of Jerusalem for damages inflicted upon the see of Tyre.<sup>2</sup> As for Tyre holding the chief place among the metropolitans of Jerusalem, William would not hear of it. Worst of all, he would not surrender Beirut, Sidon and Acre to the direct control of Fulcher, their proper metropolitan. Needless to say, the bishops of Tripoli refused to recognize Fulcher as metropolitan within the patriarchate of Jerusalem and instead continued steadfast in their loyalty to Antioch.

Fulcher was thus forced once again to write to Innocent. In January 1139 the Pope issued a group of letters couched in the strongest language.<sup>3</sup> The Patriarch Ralph was ordered to renounce his claim to the province of Tyre. The bishops of Tripoli were curtly informed that their allegiance to Antioch was null and void. Beirut, Sidon and Acre received a stern warning that the Papacy would uphold any disciplinary action which Fulcher might take against them if they refused to acknowledge his authority. As for William of Jerusalem, Innocent

<sup>1</sup> WT, xiv. 12, 623. The papal letter written to William of Jerusalem and given at this time to Fulcher for delivery is referred to in another papal letter written several months later, in January 1139 (note 3 below). This letter is not, in my judgement, to be identified with the papal letter which William of Tyre inserted into his narrative at this point. That letter belongs a few months earlier (*supra*, p. 181, n. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> Richard (*Le royaume latin de Jérusalem*, pp. 97-8) points out that the control of the city of Haifa was one of the points of contention between Fulcher and his patriarch. Jerusalem has denied the rights of Tyre in Haifa, and this was one of the "injuries" for which Fulcher had demanded compensation.

<sup>3</sup> JL, 7940-3; PL, 179, 399-401; WT, xiv. 11, 13, 622-3, 624-5; RR, nos. 184-7.



declared that if the patriarch did not right the wrongs inflicted on Tyre within forty days the province of Tyre would be withdrawn from his jurisdiction and placed directly under the control of the Apostolic See. These threats had their effect, at least as far as William and the bishops of Beirut, Sidon and Acre were concerned. The three bishops quickly acknowledged Fulcher as their metropolitan. William of Jerusalem at once realized that further resistance to the papal commands was dangerous, and accordingly his relations with Fulcher began to improve.

To the north, in Antioch, events were about to give the Papacy an excellent opportunity to settle the problem of the disputed sees once and for all. Early in 1139, the combined hatreds of prince, clergy and laity drove the Patriarch Ralph from Antioch to seek judgement in Rome. Once there, Ralph devised a clever plan to gain papal support against his enemies. He attracted attention at once by proclaiming Antioch to be the superior of Rome, since it had been Peter's first see. Then, at the height of the uproar provoked by that grandiose claim, Ralph contrived a dramatic repentance. He renounced his claims to supremacy in the most abject terms, laid aside the insignia of his exalted office and asked for papal clemency. The Papacy was so relieved by this sudden renunciation that it granted Ralph his pall and sent him home to take possession of his patriarchate.<sup>1</sup> As for the investigation of the reasons for his expulsion from Antioch, Innocent decided that this was best done in Antioch by a papal legate. The Cardinal Alberic of Ostia was sent to the East. He arrived in Antioch towards the end of 1140 and summoned a synod to consider the charges which Ralph's enemies had preferred against him. As a result of its deliberations, Ralph was deposed and Aimery of Limoges was elected in his place.<sup>2</sup> Yet

<sup>1</sup> WT, xiv. 10, xv. 12-14, 620, 676-81. As for the dating of these events, there is evidence in P. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* (Berlin, 1908-35), i. 169, that Ralph was present at the Second Lateran council of April 1139.

<sup>2</sup> For the synod held at Antioch by Alberic of Ostia, see WT, xv. 16-18, 683-8. There are difficulties in dating here. The usual date given for the synod is 1139 (Röhrich, *Geschichte*, p. 223; Cahen, op. cit. p. 503; Runciman, op. cit. ii. 220-1). The first papal legate sent out to investigate the charges against Ralph was Peter of Lyons, who died on 28 May 1139, shortly after his arrival in the East (WT, xv. 11, 15, 674, 682). The news must have reached Rome quickly, and another

the significant fact for our purposes is that nowhere in the proceedings do we find any mention of the problem of Tyre. This is especially surprising when we note that many prelates from Jerusalem, including the Patriarch William and Fulcher of Tyre, were present at this synod which deposed Ralph and elected Aimery.<sup>1</sup> Not only this, at no other time during his many activities in the Latin Orient did Alberic take any action dealing with the controversy. Our evidence tells us nothing of any complaint lodged by Alberic or anyone else against the loyalty of the bishops of Tripoli to the patriarchate of Antioch. It was almost as if the problem had ceased to exist.

Yet why did Alberic fail to use the humiliation of Ralph of Antioch as an occasion for forcing his successor to renounce all claims to the churches of Tripoli? We have mentioned above that in 1138 Innocent II had told Archbishop Fulcher that the problem of Tyre would be taken under review by the Papacy. Yet it is likely that the study of the controversy since the days of Paschal II convinced the Papacy that a proper decision had to be based on first hand knowledge of conditions existing in the Latin Orient. Therefore, in instructing his legate, Innocent probably indicated that the final decision on Tyre would have to be made by Alberic himself. Beirut, Sidon and Acre belonged without question to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and from this it followed that the bishops of these cities belonged to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. As for Tripoli, it was not quite the same thing. The

legate could perhaps have arrived in time to open a council in Antioch in November 1139. However, WT (xv. 15, 682) says that Arnulf, one of Ralph's most persistent opponents, "*Roma profiscens, iterum opportune et importune pulsatus; tandemque precibus proterve insistens*" until the Pope had agreed to send out another legate. This indicates a considerable passage of time. Further, William tells us that Alberic upon landing joined the crusaders at the May-June 1140 siege of Banyas (Caesarea Philippi) (xv. 11, 674-6). There he was encouraged by Prince Raymond to come directly to Antioch and begin his investigations. Hence the synod is to be dated 30 November 1140. On the other hand, RR, no. 203 dated it 30 November 1141. This is too late. If we consult the papal letters, we shall find the name of Alberic among the signatures for 1139-40, appearing for the last time on 6 May 1140 (PL, 179, 514) and re-appearing again on 22 September 1141 (PL, 179, 551). This evidence has its limitations, but if it is correct, it supports the date for the synod suggested above.

<sup>1</sup> WT, xv. 16, 683.

political status of the county *vis-à-vis* Antioch and Jerusalem was a more complicated matter. It was best, therefore, if Alberic become cognizant of the many factors involved in the problem and then make a decision on the spot.

We are told by William of Tyre that Prince Raymond of Antioch exercised considerable influence over Alberic with regard to the deposition of the Patriarch Ralph.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly, Raymond's influence over Alberic extended to other matters, such as the disposition of the churches of Tripoli. It was to Raymond's political interests that the patriarchs of Antioch continue to be the spiritual rulers of the county. Perhaps a more important factor in making up Alberic's mind was the Greek question, now more pressing in Antioch than ever before. The famous descent by the Emperor John Comnenus on Antioch in 1137-8 had, despite the greatest opposition, led to the recognition of Greek suzerainty over the principality.<sup>2</sup> Alberic could see that any intimidation on the subject of the Tripoli bishops might encourage Antioch to look more kindly upon the Emperor and the Greek Church. The unity of the province of Tyre was certainly not as important as the retention of Antioch within the orbit of Latin Christendom. Accordingly, Alberic decided to accept quietly the place of Tripoli within the patriarchate of Antioch. For political and ecclesiastical reasons, things were best left alone. It is even possible that he persuaded everyone to accept the *status quo*. Certainly, peace now reigned between Jerusalem and Tyre. When Banyas (Caesarea Philippi) was captured in June 1140, Fulcher of Tyre, with the consent of William of Jerusalem, consecrated Adam, Archdeacon of Acre, as first Latin bishop of that suffragan see of Tyre.<sup>3</sup> Five years later, Fulcher was elected patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Outwardly, at least, the reconciliation was complete.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 183, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The opposition to the Greeks was strengthened by the famous letter of Innocent II, dated 28 March 1138, which had threatened with excommunication all Latins serving in John's army (JL, 7883; PL, 179, 354-5).

<sup>3</sup> WT, xv. 11, 675-6; Röhrich, "Syria sacra", p. 29. For Banyas's traditional position within the province of Tyre, see Devreesse, *op. cit.* p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> WT, xvi. 17, 733.

IV. *Conclusion*

There matters stood, and what evidence we possess suggests that there they remained. That the Papacy accepted the division of Tyre between Antioch and Jerusalem and was far more concerned to maintain some degree of control over the patriarchate of Antioch is shown in a curious story, related by John of Salisbury, concerning a certain bishop-elect of Tripoli. After the debacle of the Second Crusade, one of the papal legates on that unhappy expedition, Guy of Florence, remained for some time in the East. As part of his activities, he summoned a council of the hierarchy of the Latin Orient. However, the Patriarch Aimery of Antioch refused to attend, alleging that the threatening power of the infidel prevented him from participating in the council. He even ordered his suffragans not to attend, lest they seem to desert their churches in the hour of danger. Aimery had some justification for his stand: Raymond of Antioch had been killed in battle on 27 June 1149. However, John of Salisbury states that many suspected the patriarch of hiding a basic contempt for the legate's authority under the plea of the Saracen peril. Yet although Guy was angered by the patriarch's attitude, he vented his displeasure, not on Aimery, but on the bishop-elect of Tripoli for his refusal to attend the council. At the council, the legate quashed the bishop's election. The bishop at once appealed to Rome. When he appeared before the papal court, Pope Eugene III had the prerogatives of the Roman Church read to him. This recital of papal powers overwhelmed the bishop who submitted himself without delay to the judgement of Eugene and his cardinals. His submission was rewarded with confirmation in his episcopal dignity. Eugene evidently thought that Guy's action had been somewhat unjust, and he wrote a strong letter of rebuke to his legate.<sup>1</sup>

In this report, we can find no indication that the Papacy was still concerned with the problem of Tyre. The concern of the legate was with papal authority over the patriarchate of Antioch,

<sup>1</sup> John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1927), pp. 74-7. The current state of our knowledge of the bishops of Tripoli prevents us from identifying this ecclesiastic more closely. See Cahen, *op. cit.* pp. 321, 505.

and that this concern was shared by many at the papal court is confirmed by evidence given in Otto of Freising.<sup>1</sup> Yet even here the Papacy was not prepared to take strong measures. Eugene wished to avoid any unnecessary disturbance in the Latin Orient lest the Papacy add to the burdens already carried by the Latins in their unending struggle against the infidel.

Indeed, Eugene was so determined to keep peace in the Latin Orient that he may even have gone so far as to give formal sanction to the division of Tyre between the two patriarchates. There is a phrase in a letter of Innocent III which suggests this.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, when the Maronites of Tripoli were reconciled to the Papacy, they became so through the good offices of the patriarch of Antioch.<sup>3</sup> In the confirmation of the rights and possessions of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, granted by Pope Lucius III in July 1182, we find evidence which suggests that the Papacy considered the bishops of Tripoli to be outside the patriarchate of Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> It may be mentioned in this connection that after the collapse of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187, the county of Tripoli was united to the principality of Antioch.<sup>5</sup> The return of Tripoli to Antioch, spiritually and temporally, was thus completed by the end of the twelfth century.

This is not to suggest that the Jerusalem patriarchs and the archbishops of Tyre accepted with good grace the loss of Tripoli. In 1184, the Patriarch Heraclius re-opened the problem with Lucius III. Nothing came of this.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the controversy continued in sporadic fashion long after the fall of Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon*, vii. 33, MGHSS, xx. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Potthast, 556; PL, 214, 466-7. This is opposed to the suggestion in Cahen, *op. cit.* pp. 316-17, that Eugene supported Antioch and ordered Jerusalem to surrender the entire province of Tyre into the hands of the patriarch of Antioch.

<sup>3</sup> WT, xxii. 8, 1076.

<sup>4</sup> JL, 14681, Pflugk-Harttung (*op. cit.* iii. 293-5) lists the possessions of the Sepulchre: "... que in toto archiepiscopatu Nazareno et in Aconensi episcopatu atque in toto Tyri archiepiscopatu, et omnia nihilominus, qui in universo patriarchatu et regno Ierosolimitano rationabiliter possidetis vel possessuri estis; item quicquid iuris apud montem Peregrinam, et in toto episcopatu Tripolitano habetis, et in Antiochia. . . ."

<sup>5</sup> Runciman, *op. cit.* iii. 99 f.

<sup>6</sup> See note 2 above. The letter of Innocent III refers to these discussions.



and even into the reigns of Popes Innocent III and Innocent IV.<sup>1</sup> By that time, it had lost whatever meaning it had once possessed and had become only a grim memorial to those destructive passions and rivalries which had been chiefly responsible for the collapse of Latin power in Syria-Palestine.

In conclusion, it is important to record the opinions of William of Tyre, who became metropolitan of Tyre in 1175. The great historian considered Tyre to be a ruined church, whose suffragans were divided, whose integrity was destroyed. Although William clearly emphasizes the sinister role played by the two patriarchs in the division of his province, he places the chief onus of blame on the Papacy for its failure to preserve the unity of Tyre. There were probably many in the Latin Orient who shared his opinion.<sup>2</sup>

Is William's critique of the Papacy justified? In reviewing the material presented above, we might agree, at least to this extent, that the Papacy by its hesitation, vacillation and inconsistency had helped to prolong the controversy beyond any useful purpose. However, William's judgement does less than justice to the Papacy. He ignores the ordinary difficulties which the Papacy encountered in its dealings with the Latin Orient: the uncertainties in communication due to the great distances involved; the frequent lack of information necessary for the formulation of policy. Further, he fails utterly to take account of the complicated nature of the problem which Tyre and its suffragans posed for the Papacy. Apart from the simple fact that the boundaries between the Latin states did not coincide with the ancient division between the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, there were too many special circumstances which each

<sup>1</sup> As a guide to the controversy in the thirteenth century, see RR, no. 171. Additional references to those listed there are, for Innocent III, Potthast, 3265, 3454, 4650, 4878, 4954, 5224. These show Tyre under Jerusalem and Tripoli under Antioch. So also do Potthast, 5891, 7058, 8431 for the reign of Honorius III. For Gregory IX and Innocent IV, see in the *Registres des Papes*, published by the Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome: Gregory IX, ed. L. Auvray (Paris, 1896-1907), i, no. 324, p. 190; Innocent IV, ed. E. Berger (Paris, 1884-1921), i, nos. 51, 2801, 2803, 3286, pp. 15, 417-18, 494; ii, no. 4225, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> WT, xiii. 23, xiv. 14, 593, 626-7.

antagonist was able to use, not only to his own advantage, but also against any papal decision which ran contrary to his own interests. The patriarchs of Antioch had at least three potent weapons on their side: the ambitions of the princes of Antioch; the restlessness of the counts of Tripoli in their relationship as vassals to the kings of Jerusalem; the possibility that any curtailment of Antioch's power by the Papacy might drive Antioch to seek better treatment from the Greeks. On the other hand, the strength of Jerusalem lay in its prestige as the holiest shrine of Christendom and in its superior military and political importance in the Latin Orient. All of these special circumstances combined to place the most rigorous limits on the efficacy of any action taken by the Papacy in its dealings with Tyre.

Yet the real injustice of William's charge lies in his curious failure to see that the Papacy could resolve the controversy over Tyre to the satisfaction of all concerned only by bringing peace and harmony to the crusaders themselves. Mindful of the limited scope of this article, we are naturally reluctant to proffer any general opinion on the total effectiveness of the Papacy's relationship with the Latin Orient. Nonetheless, the papal failure with regard to Tyre points to the fact that the transformation of the mutual jealousy and animosity existing between the Latin states into peace and harmony, even for the sake of the crusade, was a task beyond the Papacy's power. We may therefore conclude with this, one of the great ironies of twelfth-century history. The initial success of the crusade movement had been both a demonstration and a validation of the papal claims to hegemony in Western Christendom. Yet, for all its power, the Papacy was unable to bestow upon its sons, labouring in the East, and upon the Christian churches, which they there established in the face of the heathen, that "peace which is the tranquillity of order".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Augustine, *De civ. dei*, xix. 13.

## ELIJAH ON MOUNT CARMEL<sup>1</sup>

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THE prophet Elijah is one of the great figures of the Old Testament. In Jewish expectation it was believed that he would return to herald the messianic age,<sup>2</sup> and we know that in New Testament times there were some who asked whether Jesus was *Elias redivivus*.<sup>3</sup> In the story of the Transfiguration of our

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the Library series of public lectures. The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes below: *Af.O.* = *Archiv für Orientforschung*; *A.N.E.T.* = *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*; *B.A.S.O.R.* = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; *B.J.R.L.* = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*; *B.O.T.* = *De Boeken van het Oude Testament*; *B.Z.A.W.* = *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *C.I.S.* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*; *D.B.* = *Dictionary of the Bible*; *E.B.* = *Encyclopaedia Biblica*; *E.R.E.* = *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*; *E.T.* = *Expository Times*; *F.H.G.* = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*; *H.K.* = *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*; *H.S.A.T.* = *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (ed. by E. Kautzsch); *H.S.A.Tes* = *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes* (Bonner Bibel); *H.U.C.A.* = *Hebrew Union College Annual*; *I.B.* = *Interpreter's Bible*; *I.C.C.* = *International Critical Commentary*; *I.E.J.* = *Israel Exploration Journal*; *J.A.O.S.* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *J.N.E.S.* = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*; *J.R.S.* = *Journal of Roman Studies*; *J.S.S.* = *Journal of Semitic Studies*; *K.H.C.* = *Kurzer Hand Kommentar zum Alten Testament*; *K.K.* = *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes*; *M.F.O.* = *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université de Beyrouth*; *Ned.T.T.* = *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*; *N.S.E.* = *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*; *N.S.I.* = *Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*; *P.E.Q.* = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*; *P.G.* = *Patrologia Graeca*; *R.Arch.* = *Revue Archéologique*; *R.B.* = *Revue Biblique*; *R.E.* = *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*; *S.A.T.* = *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*; *S.B.U.* = *Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk*; *Th.L.Z.* = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*; *T.S.K.* = *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*; *W.O.* = *Die Welt des Orients*; *Z.Ä.S.* = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*; *Z.A.W.* = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *Z.D.M.G.* = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

<sup>2</sup> Mal. iv. 5; cf. Sir. xlviii. 1 ff., Matt. xi. 14, xvii. 10 ff., Mark vi. 15, ix. 11 ff., Luke ix. 8, John i. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xvi. 14; Mark viii. 28; Luke ix. 19.

Lord, Moses and Elijah appeared on the mountain with Jesus.<sup>1</sup> Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt and was the mediator of the Sinai Covenant. Elijah was the prophet who saved the Israelite faith in the greatest peril it had to face between the days of Moses and the Exile.<sup>2</sup>

For religion every age is an age of peril. Sometimes it lies in the tendency to decay from within and sometimes in attack from without. In the years that followed the Israelite settlement in Canaan, the peril lay in the infiltration of ideas and practices from the religion of the Canaanites amongst whom the newcomers were settled. In the days of Elijah it lay in a determined attempt to promote the worship of the Tyrian god in Israel. The nature of this peril is to some extent disguised from readers of the Bible because the name Baal is given to the Canaanite gods and also to the Tyrian god. The word Baal means "lord". In the pantheon that is revealed to us in the Ras Shamra texts Baal is the name of a particular god,<sup>3</sup> but the term came to be used more widely as other gods were hailed as "lord". In the same way in Babylonia the cognate term, Bel, which was once used especially of Enlil, came to be used of Marduk, and where it stands in the Bible it denotes Marduk.<sup>4</sup> In the Ras Shamra texts Baal is equated with Hadad,<sup>5</sup> the storm god, but in the Old Testament the name frequently stands for the deities worshipped at the Canaanite shrines, which were taken over by the Israelites.

It is of interest to observe that in the Ras Shamra pantheon El is also the name of a particular deity.<sup>6</sup> In the Old Testament we find no opposition to the use of this name, and indeed the God of Israel is called El in a number of passages.<sup>7</sup> What ultimately matters is not the name that is given to God, but the associations of the name and the ideas it evokes. In China the

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xvii. 3; Mark ix. 4; Luke ix. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Skinner, *Kings* (Century Bible), p. 222: "He is to be ranked as the greatest religious personality that had been raised up in Israel since Moses."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, 1952; C. H. Gordon, *The Loves and Wars of Baal*, 1943.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xlvi. 1; Jer. l. 2, li. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kapelrud, *op. cit.* pp. 50 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. O. Eissfeldt, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon*, 1951.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eissfeldt, "El and Yahweh", in *J.S.S.* i (1956), 25 ff.

name of the God Shang Ti is freely used for the Christian God, and in Israel the name El could be used without danger. But Baal was a name which aroused strong opposition, and which was ultimately rejected as a name for the God of Israel. It is curious that in the Ras Shamra mythology there was a long struggle between El and Baal, as the final issue of which El receded into the background and yielded his position to Baal.<sup>1</sup> In Israel the struggle was between Yahweh and Baal. The name Baal was harmless in itself, and it figures in some proper names, including the name of Saul's son, Ishbaal,<sup>2</sup> though Saul was clearly a devotee of the national God of Israel. The clearest rejection of the very name comes from Hosea, who declares that God will not have this title.<sup>3</sup> Yet another term which means "lord", Adon, which is philologically connected with the divine name Adonis, aroused no opposition and provided the name Adonai, which the Jews substitute for Yahweh in reading the text of the Old Testament, and which in turn gave rise to the *Kyrios* of the Greek version, the *Dominus* of the Latin, and the LORD in our English version. The term Baal was rejected not because of its inherently evil meaning, but because of all the practices that went with it in the Canaanite shrines.

From the time of the Israelite settlement in Canaan Yahweh had lived side by side with the Baals in the religion of the land, and often Yahweh had been identified with the local Baals. It is true that in times of national peril God was invoked under the name Yahweh, and the first thing that Gideon did when he heard the call of Yahweh to lead his people against the Midianites was to break down the Baal altar.<sup>4</sup> But through long periods there

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eissfeldt, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon*, pp. 60 ff.; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 3rd edn., 1953, pp. 72 f. A. S. Kapelrud (op. cit. p. 86) recognizes that El receded into the background, but thinks he continued to be the nominal head of the pantheon; cf. Albright, loc. cit. El appears to correspond to Kronos in the Greek pantheon; cf. Eissfeldt, op. cit. p. 6, and M.-J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 1903, p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Chron. viii. 33, ix. 39. In 2 Sam. ii. 8 ff., iii. 7 ff., iv. 1 ff., the name appears as Ishbosheth, where *bōsheth* (= *shame*) is probably deliberately substituted for *baal*. In 1 Chron. xii. 5 we find the name Bealiah amongst David's companions. This name means "Yahweh is Baal", and it is the clearest indication that at this period no exception was taken to the word Baal.

<sup>3</sup> Hos. ii. 16 f.

<sup>4</sup> Judges vi. 25 ff.



was little open conflict, but rather the fusing of the two faiths, and inevitably there was the steady corruption of the religion that Moses had established by the infiltration of Baalistic practice and idea.

The menace of the Tyrian Baal was of a different kind. Omri's son Ahab had married Jezebel, a Tyrian princess.<sup>1</sup> Her father Ethbaal, or Ittobaal, as the name is more accurately transmitted by Josephus,<sup>2</sup> was the king and priest of Tyre.<sup>3</sup> Jezebel was clearly a great devotee of her own national religion, and she not only continued to worship her own god, but sought by every means to promote his worship in Israel. The god of Tyre was Melkart,<sup>4</sup> "king of the city",<sup>5</sup> who in the Greek period was identified with Herakles,<sup>6</sup> and he was the Baal whose worship Jezebel so actively promoted.<sup>7</sup> Eissfeldt dissents from the view

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xvi. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 18 (123). Josephus is here citing Menander of Ephesus.

<sup>3</sup> In 1 Kings xvi. 31 he is called "king of the Sidonians". Cf. J. A. Montgomery, *The Books of Kings* (I.C.C.), ed. by H. S. Gehman, 1951, p. 286: "When the Tyrians gained ascendancy over Sidon, they assumed the larger title and its dignity." Cf. also C.I.S. i. 5, where Hiram II of Tyre is called "king of the Sidonians" (this inscription is also given in M. Lidzbarski, *N.S.E.*, 1898, p. 419, and G. A. Cooke, *N.S.I.*, 1903, pp. 52 ff.). According to Menander, cited by Josephus (*loc. cit.*), Ittobaal was a usurper.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. C. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i (1841), 175 ff., 385 ff.; R. Rochette, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, xvii, 2 (1848), 9 ff.; K. Preisendanz, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.E.*, Supplement vi (1935), 293 ff. R. Dussaud (*Syria*, xxv (1946-8), 208 f.) says that in the temple at Tyre, which was originally the temple of Baal-Hadad, Melkart replaced Hadad, probably when Tyre secured the hegemony, and perhaps owing to its maritime interests.

<sup>5</sup> W. F. Albright (*B.A.S.O.R.* 87 (Oct. 1942), 29) maintains that this means "king of the Underworld", and not "king of Tyre", as is commonly supposed. But Levi della Vida (*ibid.* 90 (April 1943), 30 ff.) disagrees. Cf. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 81, where Melkart is equated with Haurôn. On this R. de Vaux (*Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, v (1941), 8 n.) has reserves. Cf. further Levi della Vida, *loc. cit.* and Albright, *ibid.* pp. 32 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. C.I.S. i. 122 (this inscription is also given in Lidzbarski, *N.S.E.* pp. 425 f., and Cooke, *N.S.I.* p. 103); also Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* i. x. 27. See also Movers, *op. cit.* pp. 176 f.; S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (Schweich Lectures, 1925), 1930, pp. 135 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Levi della Vida (*loc. cit.*) and Albright (*B.A.S.O.R.* 90 (April 1943), 32 ff.) think the evidence of the stele of Benhadad from Aleppo suggests that another daughter of Ittobaal probably married into the royal house of Damascus, and that

that Jezebel's Baal was Melkart,<sup>1</sup> and thinks he is rather to be identified with Baal Shamem, "lord of heaven".<sup>2</sup> Some centuries later Judaism had to face a new challenge from Baal Shamem, when, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, it was Zeus who was the "lord of heaven" and whose worship was promoted with such vigour and violence by the king and his minions and accepted by so many Jews.<sup>3</sup>

this led to the setting up of a stele in honour of the god of Tyre. On the inscription discussed by Albright and Levi della Vida, cf. M. Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, iii (1939), 65 ff.; and on its date cf. A. Herdner, *Syria*, xxv (1946-8), 329 f., and A. Jepsen, *Af.O.* xvi (1952-3), 315 ff.

<sup>1</sup> This identification is accepted by B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, i (1905), 70 f.; L. B. Paton, *E.R.E.* ii (1909), 292a; W. W. von Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, 1911, p. 26; J. Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd. edn., 1932, p. 135; A. Lods, *Israel*, Eng. Trans., 1932, p. 422; W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, 2nd edn., 1937, pp. 209, 212 ff.; R. de Vaux, loc. cit. pp. 8 f.; F. James, *Personalities of the Old Testament*, 1947, pp. 171 ff.; I. Engnell, *S.B.U.* i (1948), 455; G. Ricciotti, *The History of Israel*, Eng. Trans., i (1955), 332; J. Steinmann, *Élie* (Études Carmélitaines) 1956, p. 95; J. Bright, *History of Israel*, 1959, p. 227 n.; and the commentaries on Kings by R. Kittel (H. K., 1900, p. 136), F. J. Foakes Jackson (Peake's Commentary, 1920, p. 302a), S. Landersdorfer (H. S. A. Tes, 1927, p. 107), A. Guillaume (Gore's Commentary, 1928, p. 261), A. Médebielle (Pirrot-Clamer, *La Sainte Bible*, iii (1949), 668), I. W. Slotki (Soncino Books of the Bible, 1950, p. 121), S. Garofalo (La Sacra Bibbia, 1951, p. 131), and N. H. Snaith (*I.B.* iii (1954), 144).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Z.A.W.* lvii (1939), 20 ff. (Eissfeldt had earlier accepted the identification with Melkart in *H.S.A.T.*, 4th edn., i (1922), 531.) Cf. also *Taaautos und Sanchuniaton*, 1952, p. 9, where Eissfeldt equates Baal Shamem with Zeus and Melkart with Herakles. Montgomery (*Kings*, p. 308) and M. Avi-Yonah (*I.E.J.* ii (1952), 123 f.) follow Eissfeldt's view, while Albright (*Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 156) says there is nothing concrete to justify his identification of the Baal against whom Elijah contended with Baal Shamem. W. K. Lowther Clarke (*Concise Bible Commentary*, 1952) identifies Baal with Melkart (p. 434), but says Baal may have been Baal Shamem (p. 435). Cf. Movers, op. cit. i, pp. 176 f. On the equation of Baal, Baal Shamem and Zeus, cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xiv (1933), 238 ff., and on the equation of Melkart, Herakles and Nergal, cf. *ibid.*, *Syria*, xxiv (1944-5), 69 ff. Cf. also Paton, *E.R.E.* ii (1909), 293a. J. N. Schofield (*Historical Background of the Bible*, 1938, p. 97) identifies the Baal of Tyre with Baal-zebul, with whose name he connects the name of Jezebel. A. Alt (*Kleine Schriften*, ii (1953), 135 ff.) identifies Baal with the local deity of Mt. Carmel, and is followed by K. Galling in *Geschichte und Altes Testament* (Alt Festschrift), 1953, pp. 105 ff. Cf. Eissfeldt, *Der Gott Karmel*, 1953. G. Fohrer (*Elia*, 1957, p. 60) rejects the view of Alt and Galling.

<sup>3</sup> The expression "abomination of desolation" (Dan. ix. 27; cf. also viii. 13, xi. 31, xii. 11, and I Macc. i. 54) is almost certainly a contemptuous variation

On either of these views it was the Tyrian god whose worship Jezebel sought to press on Israel. We read that she maintained 450 prophets of Baal and 400 prophets of Asherah.<sup>1</sup> Many commentators have thought that the reference to the prophets of Asherah is an intrusion into the text,<sup>2</sup> since they are not mentioned in the sequel and Asherah is elsewhere used in the Bible of a religious symbol, rather than of a deity. But it is now securely known from the Ras Shamra texts that there was a goddess, Athirat,<sup>3</sup> and it may be noted that Josephus tells us that Ittobaal was the priest of Astarte,<sup>4</sup> who must therefore have been the consort of Melkart. It is probable that these prophets whom Jezebel maintained were brought into Israel from Phoenicia.<sup>5</sup> Manifestly there were far more than sufficient for any private cult of the queen's, and there can be little doubt that they were employed in the active propagation of the Tyrian cult in Israel. The queen was determined to uproot Israel's faith and to substitute Melkart for Yahweh. That the prophets of Yahweh should resist this was but natural. Jezebel was not prepared to brook opposition, however, and set herself to persecute the prophets of Yahweh and to eliminate their influence.<sup>6</sup> We read

of Baal Shamem, as was perceived first by E. Nestle (*Z.A.W.* iv (1884), 248); cf. J. A. Montgomery, *Daniel* (I.C.C.), 1927, p. 388.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> So W. E. Addis (*E.B.* ii (1901), 1271); H. Gunkel (*Elias, Jahve und Baal*, 1906, p. 69); J. Skinner (*Kings*, Century Bible, p. 230); A. Guillaume (loc. cit. p. 262).

<sup>3</sup> The name is frequently found in the Ras Shamra texts in the form *ʾātrt*, which corresponds to the Heb. *ʾāsherah*. It is of particular interest to note that there are references to "Athirat of the Tyrians" (cf. C. H. Gordon, *Manual of Ugaritic*, 1955, p. 245, no. 299, and G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 1956, p. 134b).

<sup>4</sup> *Contra Ap.*, loc. cit., where Menander of Ephesus is cited. According to Menander, Hiram built new temples in Tyre for Herakles and Astarte (*apud* Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 17 (118)). It is not to be surprised at that Greek writers confused Asherah with the more familiar Astarte, who is also represented in the Ras Shamra texts in the form *ʾttr*, i.e. 'Athtar. The features and functions of these goddesses were interchanged, and both were associated with fertility; cf. S. Moscati, *The Face of the Ancient Orient*, 1960, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. R. de Vaux, loc. cit. p. 8: "Ils sont vraisemblablement phéniciens comme elle, car le personnel sacré d'un dieu se recrute parmi ses sujets d'origine."

<sup>6</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 4, 13. Many writers deny this (for references see below, p. 196, n. 3, 4), and it is pointed out that Elijah could not have been the only Yahweh

of 100 of these prophets being hidden from her in caves by one of the court officials, named Obadiah<sup>1</sup>—whose name appropriately means “servant of Yahweh”.

Ahab himself seems to have offered little opposition to his wife's activities.<sup>2</sup> It is often pointed out that we have the clear indication that he had not himself abandoned the worship of Yahweh, since the names of three of his children are compounded with Yahweh.<sup>3</sup> It may well be that Ahab did not break with the Israelite religion, even though he did not oppose his powerful and headstrong wife.<sup>4</sup> It might seem more surprising, however, that Jezebel's children should bear names compounded with

prophet left, since at the end of Ahab's reign we find 400 prophets at the court. It is true that in his depression Elijah feels that he is the only prophet left, but he is assured that there are 7,000 faithful left in Israel, and since Obadiah is said to have hidden 100 prophets from Jezebel these would be amongst them. Others could have escaped, or gone into hiding, as Elijah himself did.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> J. Strachan (in Hastings's *D.B.* i (1898), 687b) observes that Ahab's religious instincts were as dull as his political instincts were keen. Cf. F. James, who says Jezebel was just the sort of woman to carry even a strong man off his feet (*Personalities of the Old Testament*, 1947, p. 172).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, Eng. Trans., 1885, p. 461; W. E. Addis, *E.B.* ii (1901), 1272 f. (who says we must not charge Ahab with conscious apostasy from Yahweh); R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii, 7th edn. (1925), 243; A. Lods, *Israel*, Eng. Trans., 1932, p. 421; M. Noth, *History of Israel*, Eng. Trans., 1958, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> A. S. Peake (*The Servant of Yahweh*, 1931, p. 113) says that Ahab felt no incompatibility between the worship of Yahweh and the worship of Melkart. It is hard to think that this is so, if Jezebel was breaking down Yahweh altars and forcing the prophets of Yahweh to go into hiding. Wellhausen (loc. cit.) denies that Yahweh altars were broken down or prophets of Yahweh persecuted, or that there was ever anything more than the erection of a single shrine in Samaria for Jezebel. Cf. also R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, 1899, p. 175; W. E. Addis, *E.B.* ii. 1272 f.; H. Gunkel, op. cit. p. 37; A. Lods, op. cit. p. 422. This involves the dismissal from the Biblical accounts of far too much on purely *a priori* grounds. The acceptance of the fact of the persecution makes it impossible to exculpate Ahab. When Ahab entered into possession of Naboth's vineyard, he knew full well that he had obtained it through his wife's unscrupulousness, and the fact that he would not himself have gone to such lengths does not exonerate him from any responsibility. And if he suffered his wife to take action against Yahweh prophets and shrines, he must have recognized the incompatibility of the worship of Baal and Yahweh. For this was quite other than the syncretism that had followed the settlement in Canaan.

Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> Here, however, it should be noted that we do not know at what point in Ahab's reign Jezebel developed her full-scale attack on Yahwism. It is hardly likely that it broke in full force as soon as she came to Samaria, and it may well have been after she had borne children to Ahab that her violent intolerance of the devotees of Yahweh became apparent.

That Jezebel's campaign against Yahwism went far towards success is clear from the Biblical account. That success is sometimes discounted by directing attention to the fact that at the end of Ahab's reign we find 400 prophets of Yahweh at the court<sup>2</sup>—though most of them were false prophets who only misled the king. But this was after Elijah's triumph on Mount Carmel, when the menace of the Tyrian Baal was successfully met, and when the prophets of Yahweh who had gone into hiding could emerge once more and their numbers be recruited in the revival of Yahwism that took place. Elijah himself had been forced to hide from the queen for a long time, and when he emerged he felt that he stood alone against the enemies of his faith.<sup>3</sup> It is true that he received the consoling message that there were 7,000 in the land who had not bowed the knee to Baal,<sup>4</sup> but it is clear that he had little active support, and Jezebel regarded him as the one opponent remaining who really mattered. From her side as from his the issue was Yahweh or Baal, and it was a fight to the finish.

At some unspecified point in Ahab's reign, but clearly at a time after Jezebel's open attack on Yahwism had been launched, Elijah appeared before the king and prophesied an indefinite period of drought.<sup>5</sup> The prophecy was uttered in the name of Yahweh and was coupled with the declaration that no rain would

<sup>1</sup> It is implied in 1 Kings xxii. 52 and 2 Kings iii. 2 that Ahaziah and Jehoram were the sons of Ahab and Jezebel, while the conduct of Athaliah has led to the general assumption that her mother was Jezebel, though this is not explicitly indicated.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xxii. 5. Similarly the fact that at Jehu's revolution a single temple sufficed to hold the worshippers of Baal (2 Kings x. 21) might suggest that Jezebel had won but few converts to her faith (so Gunkel, *loc. cit.*). This, however, is an unjustified assumption (cf. Peake, *op. cit.* p. 122). For the triumph of Elijah must have discredited the Tyrian cult and checked its progress long before the revolution of Jehu.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 22.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xix. 18.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings xvii. 1.



fall until Elijah had first announced it. Here was the opening of Elijah's challenge to Baal. It was Yahweh's prophet and not Baal's that brought the intimation of the extended period of drought, and by Yahweh's prophet should its end be announced. Thus should it be seen who was indeed Lord.

From Menander of Ephesus we learn that there was drought also in Phoenicia, but that after it had lasted a year it was broken by a heavy thunderstorm in response to the prayer of Ittobaal.<sup>1</sup> In the Bible we read that in the third year of the drought Elijah came to realize, before there were any visible indications of any break in it, that its end was near.<sup>2</sup> There is no great discrepancy in the length of the period of drought,<sup>3</sup> but what happened in Phoenicia was immaterial to Elijah's conflict. It is sometimes said that on Elijah's side and on Jezebel's the issue was whether Yahweh or Baal was the sole God, and that monotheistic belief was implicit on both sides.<sup>4</sup> While I believe, and have often said,

<sup>1</sup> *Apud* Josephus, *Antiq.* VIII. xiii. 2 (324).

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> According to Menander it lasted for precisely one year, whereas in the Biblical account it covered the whole of one year and parts of the preceding and following years.

<sup>4</sup> R. Kittel (*op. cit.* pp. 248f.) says certainty cannot be attained, but inclines to think that the issue was in terms of monotheism. Similarly, J. Strachan (*loc. cit.* p. 688b) inclines to the view that Elijah was a monotheist, but adds that it is, at any rate, but a short step from Elijah's "henotheism" to absolute monotheism. Similarly, Skinner (*op. cit.* p. 232) says it is unreasonable to doubt that Elijah's thought was in the spirit of monotheism, and Montgomery (*Kings*, p. 308) says this was a fanatical contest in the name of monotheism. On the other hand, W. E. Addis (*loc. cit.* col. 1273) denies that Elijah was a monotheist, and so J. Meinhold (*op. cit.* p. 136). Cf. A. Lods, *Israel*, p. 422: "It is not a question of proving who is God in the absolute sense, but who is God in Israel"; Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, p. 213: "Elijah did not deny the existence of Melkart, or challenge his claims to adoration in Phoenicia, but he did insist, and prove, that his power did not extend to Israel." Similarly B. Balscheit (*Alter und Aufkommen des Monotheismus in der israelitischen Religion*, B.Z.A.W. 69 (1938), p. 106) denies that there was any question as to whether Baal existed or not, but that the issue was simply whether Israel should worship him or Yahweh. It is hard to suppose that the issue was one of monotheism on Elijah's side any more than on the other side, since we have no evidence that Elijah sought to spread his faith in Phoenicia, while there is evidence that there was an effort to spread the Baal cult in Israel. Yet there is no reason to suppose that the devotees of Melkart ever claimed that he was the sole god. J. N. Schofield (*Religious Background of the Bible*, 1944, p. 97) limits the issue to the question whether Yahweh or Baal was the rain giver.

that the seeds of monotheism were in Yahwism from the time of Moses,<sup>1</sup> I am not persuaded that the real issue here was in terms of monotheism. Jezebel's claim was that Baal was God in Israel, and not Yahweh. But there is no evidence that Elijah was in any comparable way concerned to spread Yahwism in Phoenicia. All that he was concerned to establish was that Baal's writ did not run in Israel, and that Yahweh alone was to be worshipped there.

When Elijah knew that the end of the period of drought was near, he sought an interview with the already mentioned Obadiah, and through him obtained an opportunity to see the king.<sup>2</sup> Then he challenged the prophets of Baal to a contest on Mount Carmel<sup>3</sup>—a contest not between him and them, but between his God and theirs. It was to decide who was God in Israel, and it was to take place on Mount Carmel, where probably altars of both Yahweh and Baal had stood, though Yahweh's now lay in ruins.<sup>4</sup>

It has been maintained that the contest was primarily concerned with the question whether an existing sanctuary on Mt. Carmel should be a Yahweh sanctuary or a Baal shrine,<sup>5</sup> but this would involve a considerable rewriting of the Biblical story, which is our only source for any knowledge of the conflict. The story is so intimately linked with the account of the drought which affected the whole land, and with Jezebel's attack on the devotees of Yahweh in Israel, that it is improbable that the real issue can have been one so trivial and so local as the possession of a single shrine.

Of the Yahweh altar on Mt. Carmel we learn nothing in the Bible save from this incident, and we have no knowledge when it was built. That Carmel was already a sacred site before the Israelites entered Canaan is known, since it is referred to in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Missionary Message of the Old Testament*, 1944, pp. 21 f., 27; *The Rediscovery of the Old Testament*, 1946, pp. 87 f.; *E.T.* lxi (1949-50), 333 ff.; *The Biblical Doctrine of Election*, 1950, pp. 60 f.; *B.J.R.L.* xxxiv (1951-2), 106n.; *The Unity of the Bible*, 1953, pp. 22 ff.; *The Faith of Israel*, 1956, pp. 71 f.; *Z.A.W.* lxix (1957), 18.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 19.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 30.

<sup>5</sup> So Alt, *Kleine Schriften*, ii (1953), 135 ff.; M. Noth, *History of Israel*, 1958, p. 241 n.

reign of Thothmes III as the "Sacred Headland".<sup>1</sup> Whether the Israelites after their entry into the land appropriated an already existing sanctuary, or whether they built a new one, we have no means of knowing.<sup>2</sup> What is clear is that the Yahweh altar had been at some time deliberately broken down, and that Elijah had to rebuild it. It is conceivable that this altar had been one of the casualties of Jezebel's campaign, though there is no direct evidence to connect its condition with her.<sup>3</sup> It is further to be noted that the altar which was used by the prophets of Baal was built by them for this occasion.<sup>4</sup> Hence while it is probable that this mountain which had for so long been held to be sacred had had both Phoenician and Israelite sanctuaries on it, it is conceivable that both had fallen into disuse. If there had been Phoenician and Israelite sanctuaries here, this would be a fitting site for the contest. It should be added that this mountain long continued to be a sacred site, since we learn that there was an oracle in Roman times,<sup>5</sup> and Tacitus records that Vespasian offered a sacrifice there on an altar which stood without a temple or statues.<sup>6</sup>

When the contestants gathered on the sacred mountain Elijah proposed the terms of the contest. On the one side stood the great host of prophets of Baal; on the other the lone figure of Elijah. He asked that to each side a sacrificial bull should be given, to be cut in pieces and laid on the altar, with wood beneath

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Maspero, *Z.Ä.S.* xvii (1879), 55; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, iii (1926), 131 f.; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, i (1933), 350 f.; M. Avi-Yonah, *I.E.J.* ii (1952), 121. G. A. Smith (*E.B.* i (1899), 706), however, thinks this is uncertain, and so Albright (*apud* Montgomery, *Kings*, p. 300 n.). K. Galling (in *Geschichte und Altes Testament*, *Alt Festschrift*, 1953, p. 106 n.) rejects the identification.

<sup>2</sup> Alt (loc. cit. pp. 141 ff.) thinks David may have erected a Yahweh altar on Carmel. This, as H. Junker observes (*Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift*, lxix (1960), 67), is pure conjecture.

<sup>3</sup> It is, of course, possible that this was one of the Yahweh altars which had recently been thrown down (cf. 1 Kings xix. 14). A. Šanda (*Elias und die religiösen Verhältnisse seiner Zeit*, 1914, p. 70) roundly states that Jezebel had destroyed the old Yahweh altar on Carmel.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Vita Vesp.* 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 78. On Vespasian at Carmel, cf. K. Scott, *J.R.S.* xxiv (1934), 138 ff.

the pieces but without the lighting of the fire. Each side should appeal to its God to supply the fire, and the God that answered by fire should be recognized by all to be God indeed.<sup>1</sup> It was essential that the test should be something beyond the manipulation of men if it were to be recognized as the act of God, and equally that it should be one in which the superior numbers of the Baal prophets could make no difference to the result. Elijah offered his opponents the choice of the sacrificial bull, and also the first appeal to their god.<sup>2</sup> He was ready to accept every handicap, because he was supremely confident of the result. Had he chosen the animal, it could have been represented that their failure was due to the inacceptability of the animal left to them. Had their appeal to Baal been successful, it is likely that the enthusiasm for Baal would have swept the solitary figure of Elijah away before he had had the opportunity to make his appeal to Yahweh.

It is curious to note that there is no mention of any priests on either side, but that the sacrifices were offered by prophets. There is evidence in the Bible that the patriarchs offered sacrifices without the help of priests,<sup>3</sup> and in the period of the Judges we read of the Ephraimite Micah installing his son as his priest.<sup>4</sup> But already there was a preference for a Levite to serve in the priestly office, as we learn when Micah's son is replaced by a Levite.<sup>5</sup> There is no indication that Elijah was a Levite, since all we are told is that he was a man of Tishbe in Gilead.<sup>6</sup> We are told that the prophet Samuel offered sacrifice,<sup>7</sup> however, and though the Chronicler represents him as a Levite,<sup>8</sup> the older account in Samuel says he was the son of an Ephraimite.<sup>9</sup> There is therefore enough evidence in the Bible to show that Elijah's action in offering sacrifice is not so surprising as it might seem if judged merely by the provision of Deuteronomy that sacrifice was only to be offered by a Levite,<sup>10</sup> or that of the Priestly Code that it could only be offered by the descendants of Aaron.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 23 f.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 4, 18, xxii, xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Judges xvii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Judges xvii. 12.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Kings xvii. 1.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 9, 17.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Chron. vi. 28, 33-8.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Sam. i. 1, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Deut. xviii. 1 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Num. xviii.

To return to the scene on Mt. Carmel, we learn that the prophets of Baal accepted the challenge of Elijah and prepared their altar and sacrifice, and then for some hours made their vain appeal to their god.<sup>1</sup> Before we proceed to examine the conduct of these prophets, we may note the fact that there were prophets of Baal as well as of Yahweh. It has long been recognized that the institution of prophecy was not something that was confined to Israel. The Bible tells us of Balaam, a non-Israelite of the period of the wandering in the desert, who is comparable with the Israelite prophets, though the term "prophet" is never used of him,<sup>2</sup> as well as of these prophets of the Tyrian Baal. The Egyptian story of Wen Amon brings before us the activity of a prophet at Byblos, in Syria, in the eleventh century B.C.<sup>3</sup> In recent years we have learned of prophets at a much earlier age from the texts that have been found at Mari.<sup>4</sup> Evidence has been brought from Babylonia,<sup>5</sup> from Greece,<sup>6</sup> and from Arabia,<sup>7</sup> of prophets who share much in common with the prophets of Israel, as spokesmen of the gods or as men who exhibit the marks of what has come to be known as ecstasy.<sup>8</sup> It would take us too far afield to discuss this here, and it is unnecessary since it has frequently been done. That Hebrew prophecy came out of a background of ancient near eastern prophecy is clear beyond a peradventure. That Hebrew prophecy had a

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxii ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, Eng. Trans., 1927, pp. 174 ff., or J. B. Pritchard, *A.N.E.T.*, 1950, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Lods, in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy* (T. H. Robinson Festschrift), 1950, pp. 103 ff.; M. Noth, *B.J.R.L.* xxxii (1949-50), 194 ff., and *Geschichte und Gotteswort im Alten Testament*, 1950; F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, *Ned.T.T.* iv (1949-50), 82 ff.; W. von Soden, *W.O.*, 1950, pp. 397 ff.; H. Schmökel, *Th.L.Z.* lxxvi (1951), 54 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Halder, *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites*, 1945.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. T. H. Robinson, *Classical Quarterly*, xi (1917), 201 ff., and *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*, 1923, pp. 33 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination*, 1938. For further evidence from ancient and modern times cf. F. Vigouroux, *R.B.* v (1896), 227 ff.

<sup>8</sup> H. Wheeler Robinson (*Redemption and Revelation*, 1942, p. 135) notes the improper use of the term, and prefers to speak of "abnormal experiences" (p. 140).



unique quality is no less clear. Its uniqueness consists not in its form, but in the content of the message the Hebrew prophets delivered—though again it must be recognized that not all the Hebrew prophets attained the same heights, and the Bible itself tells us of prophets who stand condemned though they spoke in the name of Yahweh.<sup>1</sup>

In the story of Wen Amon the behaviour which is called ecstatic is clearly described. A youth became possessed and continued in this state all night and declared he was charged with a message from his god.<sup>2</sup> The Egyptologist J. A. Wilson says that "the determinative of the word '(prophetically) possessed' shows a human figure in violent motion or epileptic convulsion".<sup>3</sup> The prophets of Baal in the story that is now before us danced about and gashed themselves with knives.<sup>4</sup> Theodore Robinson has maintained that every Hebrew prophet exhibited some of the marks of ecstasy every time he uttered a prophecy.<sup>5</sup> While I think this goes far beyond the evidence, we must recognize that it is clearly indicated in the Bible that some prophets of Yahweh acted in somewhat comparable ways. When Saul left Samuel after being privately anointed in Ramah, he met a company of prophets coming down from Gibeah, inducing the prophetic state with music, and he was caught up into the same spirit.<sup>6</sup> Again, when Saul sent men to take David at Naioth,<sup>7</sup> where Samuel was at the head of a company of prophets, the messengers were infected with the prophetic spirit, and when finally Saul came himself he was caught up into the same spirit and stripped off his clothes and rolled on the ground all day and night, so that men asked "Is Saul also among the prophets?"<sup>8</sup> It was behaviour, rather than the content of a message, which was recognized to be prophetic.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially Jer. xxiii. 9 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Erman, *op. cit.* pp. 177 ff.; *A.N.E.T.* pp. 26 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *A.N.E.T.* p. 26 n.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*, p. 50; also *E.T.* xlvi (1934-5), 43: "An objective criterion is necessarily demanded both by the speaker and by the hearers, both by the prophet and by his audience. Failure to recognize this essential feature of prophecy is to misunderstand the mind of ancient Israel."

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. x. 5, 10.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. xix. 20 ff.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Sam. xix. 24.

In a similar way, in the story of the contest on Mt. Carmel the prophets of Baal showed their prophetic character in their behaviour. They cried to their god to respond to their appeal, but there is no indication that they delivered any message from their god. We read that "they limped about the altar".<sup>1</sup> The verb which is here rendered "limp" is used to describe the gait of Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, who was dropped by his nurse when he was five years old, so that thereafter he became lame.<sup>2</sup> In the present passage the verb clearly refers to some ritual action, and it is generally held to indicate some form of limping dance.<sup>3</sup> Heliodorus writes of a dance by some Tyrian sailors in honour of Herakles—who, as has been said, was identified with Melkart—and he says that sometimes they bent their knees and behaved like men possessed to the accompaniment of music.<sup>4</sup> De Vaux notes that the Greek word here used by Heliodorus is ἐποκλάζοντες, and it is curious that in 1 Kings xix. 18 the Septuagint uses the verb ὀκλάζω to render the passage about those who had not "bent the knee" to Baal.<sup>5</sup> It would therefore seem that the reference here is to some special ritual motion that was characteristic of the worship of Melkart, and there may be some allusion to this in Elijah's word "How long halt ye between two opinions?",<sup>6</sup> where the same verb "to limp" is used.

De Vaux has further called attention<sup>7</sup> to a relief now in Rome, which was published more than thirty years ago by Cumont,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. iv. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Skinner, *Kings*, p. 232: "It seems to denote a religious dance round the altar, accompanied with contortions of the body." See also Burney, *Kings*, p. 223, and G. R. Driver, *J.T.S.* xxvii (1925-6), 159.

<sup>4</sup> *Aethiopica*, iv. xvii. 1. Cf. also Herodian V. v. 9. R. Patai (*H.U.C.A.* xiv (1939), 255) says that in modern Palestine among the Arabs there is a similar custom of dancing and leaping with bent knees, in order to produce rain.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit., p. 10. The same verb is used in Xenophon, *Anab.* vi. i. 10, in his description of a Persian dance, in which the dancer clashed his shields together and crouched down and then rose again. Cf. *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem, ad Thesmoph.* 1175, where the noun ὀκλασμα is used in the description of a Persian dance; also Pollux, *Onomasticon* iv. 100.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Loc. cit. p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th edn., 1929, Plate VIII, 2 (facing p. 90). Cf. also H. Gressmann, *Der Alte Orient*, xxiii, 3, 1923, p. 27.

in which there is a representation of dancers before the images of the gods, where the dancers are making various contortions of their bodies and have bent legs, while the spectators clap their hands. Attention has also been called by a number of writers to a Phoenician "Baal of the Dance",<sup>1</sup> to whom there are references in Greek as well as in oriental sources, and to whom a shrine at Beirut was dedicated. In this connection there is reference to music accompanying the dance,<sup>2</sup> and it may well have been that the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel were so accompanied, as Hebrew prophets are known to have been sometimes,<sup>3</sup> though in our passage here there is no reference to music on Carmel.

When all this had gone on till noon, Elijah taunted the prophets of Baal: "Cry louder, for he is a god! Perhaps he is musing, or he has gone aside, or he is on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened."<sup>4</sup> Here again I am indebted to de Vaux for some interesting comments on this passage.<sup>5</sup> Montgomery thinks the ascription to the deity of musing is rather absurd,<sup>6</sup> but de Vaux notes that the *Chronicon Paschale* calls the Tyrian Herakles "the philosopher".<sup>7</sup> He adds that his philosophy is of a practical nature, for to him is attributed the invention of the purple dye which was especially associated with Phoenicia,<sup>8</sup> and also the invention of shipping.<sup>9</sup> Natural science and astronomy are also elsewhere attributed to him.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Clermont Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, i (1888), 101 f., and *R. Arch.*, 4th ser. ii (1903), 225 ff.; R. Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, 1889, p. 220; F. Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* II ii, (1896), 2834 f.; S. Ronzevalle, *R. Arch.*, 4th ser., ii (1903), 29 f.; du Mesnil du Buisson and R. Mouterde, *M.F.O.* vii (1914-21), 387; R. Ganszyniec, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.E.* xiv. ii (1930), 1852 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. de Vaux, loc. cit. p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. x. 5; 1 Kings iii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit. pp. 13 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit. p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 43 (*P.G.* xcii (1865), 161). Cf. also Malalas, 32 (*P.G.* xcvi (1865), 100), Cedrenus, 34 (*P.G.* cxxi (1894), 61), John of Antioch (in C. Müller, *F.H.G.* iv (1851), 544b).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Suidas, *Lexicon*, s.v. Ἡρακλῆς; Pollux, *Onomasticon* i. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Nonnos, *Dionys.* xl. 443 ff. Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, *Ras Shamra und Sanchuniaton*, 1939, pp. 137 f.

<sup>10</sup> Clemens Alex., *Strom.* i. xv. 73 (ed. O. Stählin, ii (1906), 47; ed. M. Caster, i (1951), 103).

De Vaux goes on to draw attention <sup>1</sup> to Ezekiel xxviii, where the king of Tyre is rebuked for thinking of himself as being as wise as a god and amassing wealth by his own wisdom, and thinks there may here be some allusion to the inventive wisdom of Melkart.

Many editors have followed the Targum <sup>2</sup> in holding that the word which is rendered "he has gone aside" is a euphemism, meaning "he has gone to the privy",<sup>3</sup> while some delete the word as a dittograph of the word that precedes,<sup>4</sup> which is closely similar. There seems little reason to delete the word, since, though it is not found elsewhere in the Old Testament spelt as it is here, it stands in the Hebrew text of Ben Sira,<sup>5</sup> where it occurs alongside the word that precedes it here, but in the reverse order. The Septuagint here renders "he is busy",<sup>6</sup> and de Vaux thinks this sufficiently well suits the context in both passages. Baal is too immersed in his thoughts or occupied with affairs to attend to his distraught prophets.

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit. pp. 14 f.    <sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, ii (1959), 259.

<sup>3</sup> So K. C. W. F. Bähr (Lange's Commentary, vi), Eng. trans., 1872, p. 205; Skinner, *Kings*, p. 232; I. W. Slotki, *Kings*, 1950, p. 132; Montgomery, *Kings*, pp. 302, 310 f.; N. H. Snaith, *I.B.* iii (1954), 155; M. Rehm, *Echter Bibel, Altes Testament* ii (1956), 192.

<sup>4</sup> So B.D.B., Appendix, p. 1125 b; also A. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (K.K.), 1887, p. 368, and C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*, 1903, p. 224. G. R. Driver (in *Mélanges Bibliques*, Robert Festschrift, 1957, pp. 67 f.) holds that in LXX ἀδολεσχία represents both *syh* and *syg* of M.T., and deletes the second from the text. For the first he then reads *syh* or *syh* = "digging a hole", and treats this as a euphemism. L. Hayman (*J.N.E.S.* x (1951), 57 f.) proposes the view that the whole verse refers to the supposed activity of Baal as a fertility god, and renders *syh* "the growth of vegetation," and *syg* "the florescence of the vine". Neither Driver nor Hayman take any account of the occurrence of the two words *syh* and *syg* together in Ben Sira (see next note). The meanings proposed by Hayman are quite inappropriate in the Ben Sira passage, as is also the euphemistic meaning proposed by Driver, while the elimination of the word which is found only here in the Old Testament is scarcely justified in view of the Ben Sira passage.

<sup>5</sup> Sir. xiii. 26. Cf. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach, Hebräisch und Deutsch*, 1906, p. 16. Klostermann (loc. cit.) denied that the word *syg* ever existed in Hebrew. This is now disproved by the Ben Sira passage. G. H. Box and W. O. E. Oesterley (in Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, i (1913), 366) render the word by "solitude".

<sup>6</sup> μή ποτε χρηματίζει αὐτός. Those who delete *syg* from the text (see above n. 4) find that this corresponds to the following expression in the Hebrew.

The idea of Baal being absent on a journey<sup>1</sup> was, perhaps, less ludicrous to Elijah's hearers than it is to us. The Greek Herakles is represented as having made many journeys to carry out the tasks assigned to him, but though Melkart was identified with Herakles we cannot assume that all that is told of Herakles in Greek mythology was transferred to Melkart, and still less that it had been transferred by the time of Elijah. De Vaux notes, however,<sup>2</sup> that Greek sources tell of a journey of the Tyrian Herakles to Libya.<sup>3</sup> This story would therefore seem to be of Tyrian origin. De Vaux further refers<sup>4</sup> to the Tyrian colonies established at various places in the Mediterranean, and suggests that Melkart might well have been thought of as journeying with the merchants and colonists to these distant places.<sup>5</sup> He recalls that the Tyrian colonists went to the confines of the Mediterranean, where were the "pillars of Hercules", and notes that at Tartessus there was a shrine of the Tyrian Herakles from the foundation of the city, and that it continued to be famous down to the Roman era.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, the idea of the god being asleep<sup>7</sup> and needing to be aroused would be less surprising to Elijah's hearers than we find it. We are familiar with the thought of the God of Israel as one who neither slumbers nor sleeps,<sup>8</sup> but in ancient times gods were not so thought of. In one of the Ras Shamra texts Montgomery finds the repeated "he has awakened" after

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew expression means, literally, "for he has a way", and it is not found elsewhere in the Old Testament. Hayman (loc. cit. p. 58) supposes that it means "the treading of the vine is his", but this brings to the expression what it seeks to find in it.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit. p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Athenaeus ix. 392D; Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit. p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, iv (1920), 303 ff., on the worship of Melkart in the Phoenician colonies; also E. Hübner, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* vii, i (1910), 446 f.

<sup>6</sup> Loc. cit. pp. 15 f. Albright (*B.A.S.O.R.* 83, October 1941, 14 f.) places the beginnings of Phoenician colonization in Spain in the tenth century B.C.

<sup>7</sup> Hayman (loc. cit. p. 58) again imports into the expression a meaning it cannot naturally have, and renders "he is in a drunken stupor". In the parallels he adduces there is a clear reference to wine or drunkenness in the context, but this is lacking here. "Sleep" by itself does not imply "drunken stupor".

<sup>8</sup> Ps. cxxi. 4.



references to a succession of gods.<sup>1</sup> In Egyptian ritual texts of the Pharaonic period there is reference to the awakening of the gods every morning.<sup>2</sup> More germane to the context of our passage is the evidence for the festival of the awakening of Herakles which the Tyrians kept in the spring.<sup>3</sup> Nor should we forget that even in the Old Testament the idea is not wholly wanting. In Psalms xlv. 23 (Heb. 24) we read: "Rouse thyself! Why sleepest thou, O Lord? Awake! Do not cast us off for ever."

Thus taunted, the prophets of Baal roused themselves to greater frenzy. They gashed themselves with swords and lances till the blood gushed out.<sup>4</sup> Such self-mutilation is not elsewhere attested specifically of the Tyrian worshippers of Melkart, though we are told that this was "according to their custom", but it is widely attested elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> and Lucian records that the Galli and devotees of the Syrian goddess at Mabbog made gashes in their arms at the feast in her honour, or offered their backs to one another to lash.<sup>6</sup> Robertson Smith observes that the current view about such rites has been that the effusion of blood was regarded as a substitute for human sacrifice, but is doubtful

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J.A.O.S.* lv (1935), 92 f. But C. H. Gordon renders "lo the ass!" (*Ugaritic Literature*, 1949, pp. 110 f., and *Ugaritic Handbook*, 1947, p. 258, no. 1529, or *Ugaritic Manual*, 1955, p. 307, no. 1442).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Erman, *The Literature of the Egyptians*, 1927, p. 12; A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, 1902, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. v. 3 (146). Cf. A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, ii (1890), 39, Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, viii (1924), 149 ff., and also Gsell, *op. cit.* iv. 312 f. A fourth century inscription from Cyprus, dedicated to Melkart, refers to persons described as *mkm 'lm*, which A. M. Honeyman (*Muséon*, li (1938), 288) renders "establisher of the gods", but which should more probably be rendered "awakeners of the god" (for the rendering of *'lm* as a singular, cf. Z. S. Harris, *Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, 1936, p. 80). The same expression is found in inscriptions from other localities (cf. de Vaux, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17 f.).

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Apuleius, *Metam.* viii. xxvii f.; Lucian, *Lucius sive Asin.* xxxvii. Cf. also J. A. MacCulloch, *E.R.E.* ii (1909), 232 ff., and L. H. Gray, *E.R.E.* v (1912), 581; S. Reinach, in *Cultes, mythes et religions*, i (3rd edn., 1922), 173 ff.; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 1912, pp. 305 f.; E. S. Stevens (Lady Drower), *By Tigris and Euphrates*, 1923, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lucian, *De Dea Syra*, 50 (Strong and Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, 1913, p. 84). On the insensibility of ecstasies cf. Jamblichus, *De mysteriis*, iii. iv.

if this is the explanation in all cases.<sup>1</sup> He thinks it was perhaps rather a means of recommending oneself to the deity.<sup>2</sup> In any case the shedding of one's own blood would seem to be essential to the rite.

The passage continues that the followers of Baal "prophesied" until the time of the oblation.<sup>3</sup> Here the reference is probably to this frenzied behaviour, rather than to anything that we think of as prophesying, and the Revised Standard Version preserves the true meaning when it says they "raved". The Hebrew verb denotes not merely prophesying, but such behaviour as Saul's when he hurled his spear at David,<sup>4</sup> where again the R.S.V. has "raved". Throughout the present passage there is no indication of the prophets of Baal delivering any message from their god to men, but only of their complete failure to secure any response from their god to their appeals.

By now the time of the evening oblation had arrived, and the discomfiture of the Baal prophets was complete. But the vindication of Elijah's confidence in Yahweh had yet to come. The assurance with which he had taunted the prophets of Baal could not guarantee that he would not find himself exposed to similar taunts. He therefore now repaired the altar of Yahweh,<sup>5</sup> and to demonstrate his confidence he dug a trench round the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Religion of the Semites*, 3rd edn., edited by S. A. Cook, 1927, pp. 321 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 1903, p. 259; also E. Dhorme, *La religion des Hébreux nomades*, 1937, p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 29. According to Exod. xxix. 39 the evening oblation was offered "between the two evenings" (see RV marg.). It is uncertain whether the time was the same in the present story. Montgomery (*Kings*, p. 303) contents himself with saying it was after 3 o'clock. It could not have been very much later, in view of what had to follow before dark.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. xviii. 10.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 30. Many editors think that verses 31, 32a are an addition to the text, since they read more like the account of the building of a new altar than the repair of an old one. So Kamphausen, in *H.S.A.T.*, 3rd edn., i (1909), 496; I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige* (K.H.C.), 1899, 110; R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige* (H.K.), 1900, p. 148; Skinner, *Kings*, p. 233; Eissfeldt, *H.S.A.T.*, 4th edn., i (1922), 533; Montgomery, *Kings*, p. 304; de Vaux, in *Élie* (*Études Carmélitaines*), 1956, p. 62, and *Les Livres des Rois* (Bible de Jérusalem), 2nd edn., 1958, p. 107; G. Fohrer, *Elia*, 1957, p. 15 n. Burney (op. cit. p. 225) rejects this view, observing that "v. 30<sup>a</sup> states summarily what is stated in detail in vv. 31, 32, according to the diffuse but picturesque style of the writer".

altar, and when he had put the wood and the pieces of the sacrificial bull on the altar, he had the whole drenched with water until the trench was also filled.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that this abundance of water on the top of Carmel is remarkable in a story of long continued drought.<sup>2</sup> We are not told where the water was brought from, and there is no reason to suppose that it was conveniently handy on the top of Carmel, or at the particular point on the mountain where the altar was erected.<sup>3</sup> But it would be far more remarkable if twelve jars of water could not be found after this period of drought, since in that case the survival of those who took part in the scene would be beyond explanation. The pouring out of this water has been associated with rain-making magic,<sup>4</sup> but there is little reason to accept this suggestion. At the moment it was not rain that was wanted, but fire, and all that Elijah was doing was loading the dice against himself even more, to demonstrate his confidence and to make his triumph the more spectacular.<sup>5</sup> Having done this, he cried unto Yahweh to answer by fire, and the fire of the Lord fell.

Many years ago it was suggested by Hitzig<sup>6</sup> that the triumph of Elijah was due to a trick which he played on his opponents.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. M. Powis Smith, *The Prophets and their Times*, 1925, p. 38 (2nd edn., revised by W. A. Irwin, 1941, p. 48); B. D. Eerdmans, *The Religion of Israel*, 1947, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> The traditional spot where the contest took place is at *el-Muḥrâkâ*, above *Tell el-Kâs*, near which is a spring. It is nearly four miles south of the highest point of Carmel, but is itself nearly 1600 feet above sea level (see Skinner, *op. cit.* p. 231).

<sup>4</sup> So P. Volz, *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes*, 1912, p. 31; Foakes Jackson, in *Peake's Commentary*, p. 303a; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite*, 1921, pp. 205 f. (where the ritual is said to have been of Canaanite origin); S. Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien*, ii (1922), 102, and *Religion und Kultus*, 1953, p. 99; E. Dhorme, *La religion des Hébreux nomades*, 1937, p. 176, and *La Bible, Ancien Testament*, i (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), 1956, pp. 1112 f.; R. Patai, *H.U.C.A.* xiv (1939), 256 f.; A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, 1950, p. 192; Lowther Clarke, *op. cit.* p. 435; N. H. Snaith, *I.B.* iii. 157. This view is rejected by S. Garofalo, *op. cit.* p. 141; R. de Vaux, *Élie*, p. 63, and *Le livre des Rois*, p. 108; A. van den Born, *Koningen* (B.O.T.), 1958, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> So K. Smyth, *Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, 1953, p. 337; G. Fohrer, *Elia*, p. 15. Bähr (*op. cit.* pp. 205 f.) thought it was to remove suspicion, and so M. Rehm (*op. cit.* p. 193), but Fohrer (*op. cit.* p. 15 n.) rejects this view. H. Junker (*loc. cit.* pp. 73 f.) thinks it was simply to cleanse the altar.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1869, p. 176.

According to this theory, what was poured over the altar and into the trench was not water, but highly inflammable naphtha. This suggestion has recently been taken up by some other scholars, and the story that is told in 2 Maccabees i. 29 ff., of the kindling of the altar fire by Nehemiah with the aid of "thick water" which was called Nephthai and which was ignited by the sun's rays, has been brought into association with the story of Mt. Carmel.<sup>1</sup> As the time must have been in the later afternoon, it is not very probable that the naphtha was ignited by the direct rays of the sun,<sup>2</sup> and R. H. Kennett proposed the view that Elijah may have concentrated the rays by a curved metal mirror, which acted as a burning glass.<sup>3</sup> This theory will convince whom it may.<sup>4</sup> The story of Bel and the Dragon makes play of the tricks of the priests of Bel, wherewith they deceived the ignorant, until the clever Daniel exposed them. It is conceivable that Elijah might have imposed on the common people who were watching the contest, but it is not likely that he could have imposed on the prophets of Baal. Kennett observes that Elijah would not have been very scrupulous about the means he employed,<sup>5</sup> but something more than lack of scruple is at issue here. It would be necessary to assume that the men who carried the jars of naphtha were accomplices of Elijah, or else that they were singularly gullible. But more than this! The prophets of Baal, of whom, be it remembered, there were 450, might be expected to watch what Elijah was doing with some care. Kennett observes that "among a people utterly devoid of scientific knowledge, a fire thus kindled (i.e. with a curved mirror) would be regarded as fire from heaven".<sup>6</sup> It is doubtful whether we should think of these Tyrian prophets as completely devoid of scientific knowledge. With their wide trading contacts the

<sup>1</sup> So R. H. Kennett, *Old Testament Essays*, 1928, pp. 91 ff.; A. Lucas, *P.E.Q.* 1945, pp. 49 f. Hitzig had already noted the passage in 2 Maccabees.

<sup>2</sup> Lucas notes this difficulty, which is also noted by A. Parrot (*Samarie*, 1955, p. 19 n.) as fatal to the theory.

<sup>3</sup> Loc. cit. pp. 103 f.

<sup>4</sup> Lowther Clarke (op. cit. p. 435) dismisses this theory as out of keeping with the story. So also de Vaux, in *Élie*, p. 63, and Fohrer, op. cit. p. 15 n.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit. p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 100.

Tyrians were likely to be as advanced in scientific knowledge as Elijah.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, if there were natural deposits of naphtha in the neighbourhood, as Hitzig supposed,<sup>2</sup> they might be expected to be as well known to the priests of the shrine on Carmel and to the prophets of Melkart as they were to Elijah, and it is not likely that Elijah would have been allowed to draw his supposed "water" from these deposits without protest or interference.

Moreover, if Elijah's confidence were really in his trick and not in God, he would need to make careful plans for the igniting of the naphtha. He would scarcely leave that to God or to chance. Yet unless we accept the theory of a curved mirror, it must have been so left. If he was confident that a miracle would be performed and the fire kindled without human agency, all his supposed trouble with the naphtha was unnecessary. If, on the other hand, he was not relying on miraculous help, but on his own cleverness, then all his plans had missed the crux of the situation. This was not where could inflammable material be found, but how could fire be produced without visible human agency.

It cannot be supposed that Elijah had somehow concealed some contraption for making fire without being seen.<sup>3</sup> If he had possessed a piece of sodium and had known something of its properties he might have hidden it amongst the sticks, but he could not have ensured that it should not begin to operate before all the buckets had been emptied over the altar and the men had withdrawn. If, on the other hand, he had relied on the direct rays of the sun to ignite his supposed "water", even supposing he had been confident that his trick would thus far escape detection, he could not be certain that the heat of the sun would suffice. Palestine does not enjoy rainfall during the summer months,<sup>4</sup> when the sun would be hottest, and since this scene is the prelude to the coming rain, it can hardly be thought to have taken place in the summer.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Peake, *The Servant of Yahweh*, p. 125 n.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Saintyves, *Essais de Folklore biblique*, 1923, p. 21: "Il ne semble pas douteux qu'il s'agit là d'un feu allumé par l'action d'un liquide sur une préparation pyrophorique préalablement disposée sur l'autel. . . . Ces eaux qui semblent rendre le miracle tout à fait impossible en sont précisément l'agent efficace."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L. H. Grollenberg, *Shorter Atlas of the Bible*, 1959, p. 26.



A more common suggestion is that the response to Elijah's faith came by lightning.<sup>1</sup> We are told that when the fire came it consumed the flesh that was upon the altar, and the wood and the water and also the very stones of the altar.<sup>2</sup> A flash of lightning that struck the altar might prove completely destructive, and would certainly be regarded as an act of God, since no human agency could control it. The difficulty here, however, is that the sky was cloudless. The drought had not yet broken, and it was only after the triumph over the prophets of Baal that Elijah's servant saw the first fragment of cloud on the far horizon. Had the sky been full of thunderclouds, it would still have been a remarkable vindication of Elijah's faith that the flash of lightning fell just at this moment, and that it struck his altar and not the altar of Baal. But a flash from a cloudless sky must have seemed even more remarkable. Indeed, it would still seem remarkable to us, and it is not to be supposed that we have rationalized the story and explained the miracle away when we think in terms of a flash of lightning.<sup>3</sup> No man can produce lightning at will from a cloudless sky or from any sky; no man can direct the fall of the lightning to any object he wishes. The response to Elijah's faith may have come through some natural phenomenon, even though we cannot with certainty say how it came. To Elijah and to all who beheld it, it was supernatural in that it was uncontrolled by man and appeared at the desired place and at the desired time.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So J. Strachan, loc. cit. p. 688b; R. Kittel, op. cit. p. 148; Skinner, op. cit. p. 234; H. Gressmann, *S.A.T.* II, i (1910), 262; S. Landersdorfer, *Die Bücher der Könige* (H.S.A.Tes), 1927, p. 116; A. Šanda, op. cit. p. 71; A. Guillaume, in Gore's Commentary, p. 263; Montgomery, op. cit. p. 308; N. H. Snaith, *I.B.* iii. 158; M. Rehm, op. cit. p. 193; de Vaux, in *Élie*, p. 63; Dhorme, *Bible de la Pléiade*, pp. 1111, 1113; Fohrer, op. cit. p. 16. The passage in the Bible says "the fire of the Lord fell". A similar expression is used in Gen. xix. 24 of the fire that destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and in Exod. xix. 18 of the fire at Sinai. Again, in Job i. 16 it was the "fire of God" that destroyed the flocks and shepherds of Job, and in 2 Kings i. 10 fire from heaven that destroyed the men sent to take Elijah.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Snaith, *I.B.* iii. 158.

<sup>4</sup> N. K. Gottwald (*A Light to the Nations*, 1959, pp. 259 f.) observes that it is mistaken "to dismiss the incident as an accident . . . or as collusion. . . . Dishonesty of motive is a poor match for the evident sincerity of Elijah; the

What precisely happened it is impossible for us now to say; but that something remarkable happened is overwhelmingly sure. Some have sought to dissolve the story into pure fabrication.<sup>1</sup> In the Elijah and Elisha stories we have some accounts of trivial miracles, where the order of nature is reversed for the glorification of the prophet. A man is cutting wood when the axe-head flies off and falls into water where it seems impossible to recover it. Elisha cuts a stick and throws it into the water, whereupon the iron axe-head imitates the stick and floats to the top of the water and is recovered.<sup>2</sup> This is a miracle story in a totally different category from the one we are examining today. Almost all writers acknowledge that there are legendary elements in the stories told about Elijah and Elisha,<sup>3</sup> and especially about Elisha. Peake observes that in the Elisha stories miracle is far more homely and commonplace.<sup>4</sup> But if the story we are examining today is dismissed as a fabrication, then either the whole story of the reign of Ahab as well as the story of Elijah must be dismissed, or the defeat of the prophets of Baal is left without explanation. If it is true that Jezebel persecuted the prophets of Yahweh and actively promoted the cult of Melkart and maintained large numbers of prophets of Baal at the court, then something drastic must have happened to check this movement before the death of Ahab, and we are left to ask why the real reason should have been suppressed in favour of this fabrication.

dismissal of religious claims by charging deception is generally a feeble last resort. As to the possibility of coincidence, let us concede that if we knew all the circumstances some 'natural' instrumentality could be constructed to 'explain' the fire. Yet that would still leave untouched the fact that what gives the fire its meaning is *the context of religious ordeal*."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten*, 1914, p. 177, and *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, 1922, pp. 95 f. Hölscher supposes that Elijah is a reflection back of traditions about Elisha. So H. Gunkel, *op. cit.* pp. 38 f. Cf. also B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, i (1905), 71. Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, Eng. Trans., p. 462) finds much of the story to be legendary, but recognizes more historical substratum than Hölscher, and observes: "In solitary grandeur did this prophet tower over his time"; but cf. pp. 290 ff., where little historical reality is allowed to the story of Elijah. Similarly J. M. Powis Smith (*loc. cit.*) allows little substance of history in the narrative. E. Sellin (*Geschichte des israelitischen-jüdischen Volkes*, i (2nd edn., 1935), p. 220) holds that the kernel of the Elijah story is historical.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings vi. 4 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. Fohrer, *Elia*, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 138.

It might be supposed that the real explanation is to be found in the revolution of Jehu.<sup>1</sup> Then large numbers of Baal worshippers were put to death, though in fact they were apparently much fewer than the 7,000 worshippers of Yahweh of whom Elijah learned. Moreover, these seem to have been Israelites who worshipped Baal. What is clear is that at the end of Ahab's reign the king is found consulting 400 prophets of Yahweh,<sup>2</sup> and not prophets of Baal speaking in the name of Melkart. Though Jezebel is still beside the king, her power is broken and her bid to replace Yahweh by Melkart is definitely countered. Hence it seems impossible to escape the certainty that something remarkable happened on Mount Carmel, something which not alone in Elijah's eyes vindicated his faith, but which vindicated it in the eyes of the people also, something so remarkable that the prophets of Baal were discredited and slain.

Nor is this the end of the story. Elijah goes to the top of Carmel<sup>3</sup> after assuring the king that now there will be rain.<sup>4</sup> He takes with him his servant, and bowing himself to the earth he sends his servant to the topmost point of the mountain to look to the west. It is sometimes said that Elijah's bowing himself to the ground with his face between his knees was a piece of sympathetic magic,<sup>5</sup> and that he was trying to make himself look like a cloud so as to induce clouds in the sky, much as in the story of Elisha and the axe-head we find sympathetic magic. There is

<sup>1</sup> So Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, Eng. trans., pp. 291 f. Against this Peake (op. cit. p. 140) observes that the history suggests that the worship of Melkart had lost much of its prestige before the revolution of Jehu, and notes that Jehoram put away the pillar of Baal that Ahab had made (2 Kings iii. 2) while Jezebel was still alive and had the prestige of queen mother. Cf. also A. Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, Eng. trans., i (1882), 360 f.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xxii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> As W. E. Barnes (*The First Book of Kings*, Cambridge Bible, 1908, p. 154) observes, the "top" of Carmel probably means the seaward end.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 42.

<sup>5</sup> So T. H. Robinson, *History of Israel*, i (1932), 306. G. Röscher (*T.S.K.* lxx (1892), 551 ff.) also found rain-making magic in the actions of Elijah. R. Patai (*H.U.C.A.* xiv (1939), 255 ff.) says the prophet's gesture was designed to produce rain, but adds that as the prophet prayed to God at the same time it was not simple magic in this case, but that the medium of God was interposed between the act and its final aim. On rain-making by the imitation of clouds, cf. J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, i (1936), 261 f.

not a little in the story of the prophets which has been somewhat similarly interpreted. It is possible so to regard much of the prophetic symbolism with which we are familiar. Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah makes horns of iron and says to the king "With these shalt thou gore the Syrians".<sup>1</sup> He is not merely foretelling—though falsely—the victory of Ahab. He is prophesying by his act, and he believes that the act will work to bring about its own fulfilment no less than the prophetic word. Similarly, when Jeremiah wears a wooden yoke in the Temple,<sup>2</sup> he and those who saw him believed that the act released power that tended towards its own fulfilment. That was why Hananiah felt that when he had broken the yoke he had broken the power of Jeremiah's prophetic act.<sup>3</sup> There is nothing difficult in finding a symbolic act in a prophet,<sup>4</sup> or in thinking it was believed to have power to affect the course of events.

Nevertheless, I find no reason to see any such symbolic act in Elijah's position here. Wheeler Robinson has distinguished prophetic symbolism from magic by observing that whereas magic is an attempt to control events by a technique, and thus to impose man's will on events that are normally beyond human control, prophetic symbolism claims to have its origin in the will of God and not to be directed to coerce God.<sup>5</sup> By his prophetic act no less than by his word the prophet is saying "Thus saith the Lord". Often the prophet's own heart was wrung by the message he felt constrained to deliver. He was not trying to conform events to his will, but delivering the message which he believed God had given him and releasing a power which had its source in God. This leaves us, of course, with the problem of false prophecy and of misleading prophetic symbolism. It was always possible for a prophet to find his real inspiration no deeper than in his own heart and his own wishes, and to be self-deceived as well as to deceive others. But prophetic symbolism by its very nature was carried out before the eyes of men. It was a prophecy to them, whether a true one or a false.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xxii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. xxvii. 1, xxviii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xxviii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, *Old Testament Essays*, 1927, pp. 1 ff., and *J.T.S.* xliii (1942), 129 ff.; G. Fohrer, *Die symbolischen Handlungen der Propheten*, 1953.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Old Testament Essays*, p. 14; *J.T.S.*, loc. cit. pp. 132 f.; *Redemption and Revelation*, 1942, p. 250.

Elijah's act here cannot be viewed in such a light. There is no one with him but his servant, and Elijah could scarcely be supposed to be prophesying to the servant. He had already uttered to the king the prophetic word that rain was coming, even though no vestige of cloud could be seen in the sky. If he was trying to resemble a cloud in order to bring rain, it was surely a simple case of magic, with no prophetic quality or element. After the vindication of his faith in the sending of fire by means that neither Elijah nor the people could explain, it would be very surprising for him to suppose that the assurance of the coming of rain which he had known before the contest on the mountain and had now expressed to the king, needed rain-making magic to bring it about. I find it much more reasonable to suppose with Professor Peake that Elijah's attitude was simply one of humble prayer.<sup>1</sup>

The prayer was not immediately answered, and it was not until the servant had gone to the top of the mountain seven times that he saw a tiny cloud on the distant horizon.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore quite clear that at the time of the sacrifice the sky had been completely cloudless, and this makes any ordinary flash of lightning an improbable explanation of the triumph over the Baal prophets. It is to be noted that the prophet still had to exercise patience. He had seen Jezebel apparently succeeding and his fellow prophets being eliminated, and he had fled from Jezebel and for nigh three years kept out of her way, without his faith failing; and now that he had demonstrated to all Israel that Yahweh was God and not Melkart, and had countered the threat of the Phoenician faith, though the sky was still cloudless and the promised rain did not fall, he could have patience in prayer until God

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 126 n. Cf. A. Médebielle, op. cit. p. 677: "c'est l'attitude de la prière la plus humble, la plus recueillie, la plus ardente et persévérante, en même temps qu'elle est, d'après le contexte, la plus confiante." Cf. also K. Smyth, op. cit. p. 337; A. van den Born, op. cit. p. 112. Skinner (op. cit. p. 235) says: "the attitude . . . seems to express intense concentration of thought on an invisible object." Similarly Montgomery (op. cit. p. 306): "the attitude implies ecstatic absorption." So Slotki, op. cit. p. 135. Dhorme (*La Bible de la Pléiade*, p. 1114) describes the attitude as "geste de l'homme qui n'ose regarder en face ce qui va s'accomplir". A. Jirku (*Z.D.M.G.* ciii (1953), 372) adduces Ras Shamra evidence of the use of a similar phrase, and holds that it is a sign of grief.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 44.



answered with the cloud. With the appearance of the cloud came the demonstration that Yahweh could send rain no less than fire. Elijah at once sent his servants to warn the king that he should hasten in his chariot back to Jezreel before the rain should make the roads impassable.<sup>1</sup> And as the king drove back to Jezreel, Elijah ran before his chariot, while the clouds began to fill the sky and the rain began to fall.<sup>2</sup> The beginning of the drought after the announcement of Elijah, the challenge on Mount Carmel, and the ending of the drought form a single story.

That Jezebel did not take her defeat easily is not surprising, and the chapter that immediately follows tells of her threat to Elijah and of his flight to Horeb.<sup>3</sup> Psychologically there is nothing difficult in the reaction after the triumph. Professor Peake observes that Elijah had shown no sign of strain in the scene on Mt. Carmel.<sup>4</sup> This does not mean that there was no inner strain, though he bore himself in the crisis without showing it. Despite his confidence in God, Elijah must have been aware of the magnitude of the issues that hung on the crisis, and it is in no way surprising that a mood of depression should follow the exaltation of triumph. Nor is it surprising that Jezebel should plan to take revenge on Elijah.<sup>5</sup> Her plan for the conversion of Israel to the worship of Melkart had miscarried, but revenge on the man who had thwarted her was still open to her. She could not strike openly, but she was a woman who knew how to get her way. The story of Naboth's vineyard sufficiently indicates that she was accustomed to stick at nothing when she wanted a thing.<sup>6</sup> She could not force Naboth openly to give up his vineyard to the king, but she could intrigue to get her way, so that it might appear that Naboth was being justly punished for blasphemy and *lèse majesté*. Hence though Elijah was safe against any public stroke against him, when the threat of Jezebel came to his ears he knew it was a serious one. I therefore feel there is no need to transfer the story of Elijah's visit to Horeb to an earlier period in his ministry.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 44.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 46.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xix.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings xix. 2.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Kings xx.

<sup>7</sup> This is done by Peake, op. cit. p. 135.

It is said that the assurance that there were 7000 in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal reads strangely after the victory on Mt. Carmel.<sup>1</sup> But is that really so? There was a wave of enthusiasm for Yahweh, and the Baal prophets were slain, but there was no evidence of any real or enduring return to Yahweh. The threat of Melkart was gone; but that did not of itself mean that Yahwism immediately regained the strength that Elijah would see. Other and more insidious perils would continue. For religion every age is an age of peril, and it is the tribute to Elijah's realism that he was aware that success in one crisis brought a new and different challenge, and that while Jezebel and her relentless purpose continued, the battle for Yahweh must go on.

Yet to Elijah had been given a triumph such as is given to few. Often in the history of the world great issues have depended on lone individuals, without whom events would have taken a wholly different turn. Yet few crises have been more significant for history than that in which Elijah figured, and in the story of the Transfiguration he rightly stands beside Moses. Without Moses the religion of Yahwism as it figured in the Old Testament would never have been born. Without Elijah it would have died. The religion from which Judaism, Christianity and Islam all in varying ways stemmed would have succumbed to the religion of Tyre. How different the political history of the world might have been it is vain to speculate. But it is safe to say that from the religion of Melkart mankind would never have derived that spiritual influence which came from Moses and Elijah and others who followed in their train.

<sup>1</sup> So Peake, *ibid.* pp. 134 f.

## THE TEXT OF JOHN STUART MILL'S *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*

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IN a recent paper on the neglect of textual problems in the novel, Professor Bruce Harkness posed the questions, "How many know . . . what [text] they have been teaching? . . . Can not we know *what it is* we have in our hands?"<sup>1</sup> His point applies to other prose as well. Some months ago I had occasion to tell a group of students reading Victorian prose in the anthology by C. F. Harrold and W. D. Templeman just what text of a chapter of Mill's *Autobiography* they had "in their hands". With an announced principle of basing their text on "that of standard and accepted editions",<sup>2</sup> Professors Harrold and Templeman had reprinted (with a single correction) the text of an early impression of Harold Laski's Oxford World's Classics edition (1924). Laski's text represents an imperfect and in-edited reprinting of the earliest issue of the first edition (1873), which, in turn, is an inaccurate and considerably altered printing of a manuscript based on Mill's own final holograph version but edited and to an extent revised by his stepdaughter, Helen Taylor. The students were thus four or five times removed from Mill's own version of the *Autobiography*.

Doubtless they were unimpressed by the fact, but in these progressing days of textual criticism every scholar will recognize that it is a sad state of affairs when one is aware of having to use an unreliable text, but also of not knowing wherein consists the authoritative version. Very little work has been done on the text of the *Autobiography*.<sup>3</sup> Until recently, there have been only

<sup>1</sup> "Bibliography and the Novelistic Fallacy", *Studies in Bibliography*, xii (1959), 67, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *English Prose of the Victorian Era* (New York, 1938), p. v. Chapter V of the *Autobiography* is included on pp. 707-27.

<sup>3</sup> The single piece of scholarship on the subject is A. W. Levi's "The Writing of Mill's *Autobiography*", *Ethics*, lxi (1951), 284-96, which, despite several incidental errors, is an admirable pioneer work, whose conclusions are still largely valid as to dating and process of composition.

two sources of text, the first edition of 1873 and the version in Mill's hand preserved in the Columbia University Library and used as the basis for an edition published by the Columbia University Press in 1924. There are many substantive variants between the two sources, and one could not know, at any given point of disagreement, which version was authoritative. Last July, however, the third of the known manuscripts, the press-copy of the *Autobiography*, came to light when it was acquired by the John Rylands Library. Its discovery now clarifies the relationships between manuscripts and printed text, and for the first time makes possible, with some degree of confidence, the definitive printing of Mill's work.

## I

Three manuscripts of the *Autobiography* were among the collection of Mill's letters and papers owned after Mill's death by Helen Taylor, bequeathed by her to her niece Mary Taylor, and sold by the executors of the latter's estate in March 1922. They are listed together, "a large parcel", as lot 720 (third day) in Sotheby's sale catalogue of 27-29 March 1922: "MILL (John Stuart) Auto. MS. of his AUTOBIOGRAPHY upwards of 220 pp. 4to; with an earlier draft of the same in his hand, and a copy, mostly in the hand of Helen Taylor, *with the suppressed passages*". The "large parcel" went for £5 5s. to Maggs Bros., who resold the manuscripts separately.

The "earlier draft" was purchased from Maggs by Jacob H. Hollander (1871-1940), Professor of Economics at the Johns Hopkins University, who kept it until his death, after which it was stored in a Baltimore warehouse. In 1958 it was acquired with the rest of Hollander's library by the University of Illinois.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Though Hollander read a paper on the manuscript before the History of Ideas Club at Johns Hopkins on 13 December 1923, students of Mill were generally unaware of its existence until Professor Levi examined it in 1941 and published excerpts in "The 'Mental Crisis' of John Stuart Mill", *Psychoanalytic Review*, xxxii (1945), 86-101, and in the article in *Ethics* (1951) cited in the preceding note. For many years subsequently it was inaccessible to scholars. The excerpts in F. A. Hayek's *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 31-2, 42, and Michael St. John Packe's *The Life of John Stuart Mill* (London, 1954), pp. 33, 51, 76, derive from the first of Levi's articles, or, in one instance (Hayek, p. 42), from Levi's own notes.

The manuscript is in fact the original draft of the *Autobiography*, consisting of 139 leaves of the first completed version and thirty leaves of rejected text. Written in the late months of 1853 and the early months of 1854,<sup>1</sup> it represents a complete account, as Mill then would have given it, of his life up to his marriage in 1851, the equivalent of the first 168 pages of the Columbia University Press edition.<sup>2</sup> Its significance to the study of Mill lies in showing how much of the final text of the *Autobiography* Mill got written down in 1853-4; in revealing an early intention to divide the *Autobiography* into two parts, the first covering his life before he met Mrs. Taylor, and "Part II." beginning with his "first introduction to the lady whose friendship has been the honour & blessing of my existence"; and in providing, in passages either cancelled in the manuscript or subsequently omitted, new light on Mill's personality. To the extent that Mill represents not so much a collection of ideas as a complex mental phenomenon in many ways epitomizing the condition of the nineteenth-century intellectual, these passages are quite valuable, and justify the separate edition currently in progress. As a source of text, the manuscript is of negligible value, except as it serves to confirm readings in the final version—for example, "retinences" (144: 18), which occurs in all manuscripts and as a corrected state in the first edition. In the World's Classics edition Laski printed "reticences", with the note "retinences 1873: qy. misprint. Cf. O.E.D."; the Columbia editor printed "reticences" without comment. Clearly Mill intended "retinences"; the word should be restored to his text, and his meaning ("controls", "restraints") should be entered in the next supplement to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Hayek, pp. 190-7. The dating, which agrees with Professor Levi's (*Ethics*, pp. 290-3), will be discussed in a forthcoming edition of the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> *Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*, with a preface by John Jacob Coss (New York, 1924). I have taken this edition, edited by Roger Howson, as my standard for reference. Unless another edition is specified, parenthetical documentation in my text, such as "(144: 18)" in the first instance below, will always refer to this edition by page and line numbers (p. 144, line 18, in the example given).

<sup>3</sup> At present the only definition given by the O.E.D. is "Power of coherence", with a single example dated 1642. I should add that the New York sub-edition



The second manuscript, to take them in the order in which they were written, was bought by John Jacob Coss for members of the Department of Philosophy at Columbia, who presented it to the Columbia University Library in April 1923.<sup>1</sup> Consisting of 210 leaves, not counting leaves left blank by Mill or used as wrappers, it represents the final holograph version of the *Autobiography*. The first 162 leaves, sewn in twenty-leaf gatherings marked A-I (with the initial leaf of A and the last seventeen leaves of I left blank), are a revised version of the Hollander-Illinois first draft plus a three-page continuation (Columbia edition, pp. 168-70); they were written in 1861. The remaining forty-eight leaves, marked K and made up of twenty-four sheets folded separately and unsewn, are the first (and only) draft of the rest of the *Autobiography*, written in the winter of 1869-70.<sup>2</sup> The text of the Columbia manuscript varies from that of the first edition (1873) in the following major particulars: (1) a paragraph of the Columbia text (170:35-171:9) was omitted; (2) the remaining nine paragraphs of transition in the Columbia text (169:4-180:11) were rearranged in the order 4-5, 1-3, 9, 6-8 (171:10-176:20, 169:4-170:34, 180:6-11, 176:21-180:5); (3) some fifty or more lines of the Columbia text were "suppressed" in 1873 (184:35-6; 185:2-10, 12-13, 16-18; 186:19-20, 26-7; 189:36-190:5; 214:4-30; 216:4-16; 221:13); (4) some eighty other substantive changes (verbal changes and omissions) of varying length and importance, and several hundred accidental variants (changes in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and the like) were made. Given the two sources of text, until last year it was impossible to know which was authoritative.

In the *Times Literary Supplement* for 7 August 1959 (p. 459), I enquired about the third of the manuscripts sold at Sotheby's, published by Henry Holt in 1873 (see below) and the 191-page undated "new edition" published by Longmans perhaps in the first decade of this century both reproduce the uncorrected reading of the first issue, "reticences".

<sup>1</sup> It is the only one of the manuscripts that I have found advertised in a Maggs catalogue. In catalogue 436, *Original Manuscripts . . . of Celebrated Authors* (London, 1923), it is item 196, priced at £17 10s.

<sup>2</sup> The dating is based on Helen Taylor's notes in the 1873 edition, pp. 240, 251; on Mill's own text—"the question now stands (1870)" (201:21-2); and on Helen Taylor's manuscript continuation of the *Autobiography* printed below.

the "copy, mostly in the hand of Helen Taylor, *with the suppressed passages*". By a rare coincidence, it had been discovered and identified only eleven days earlier by the Rylands Keeper of Manuscripts, Dr. Frank Taylor, while examining a miscellaneous collection of letters and papers in the London salerooms of Messrs. Hodgson. It was acquired by the Rylands Library at the last sale of the season, on 30 July.<sup>1</sup> Beyond the obvious likelihood that the manuscript has remained in England, I have learned virtually nothing of its history during the thirty-seven-year interval between auctions. In 1923 or early 1924, when preparing his *World's Classics* text, Harold Laski approached the owner of the manuscript (apparently through Sotheby's or Maggs), but was refused permission to see it, and had to write in his introduction (p. xi), "I have been unable to obtain permission from the present owner of the complete text to reproduce it verbatim". Dr. Joseph Hamburger, of the Department of Political Science, Yale University, informs me that in conversation some eleven years ago Laski indicated that Lord Rosebery (1847-1929) had been the owner, but I have so far been unable to confirm the fact.<sup>2</sup> Of its more recent history, Messrs. Hodgson were unable to say more than that the manuscript was among a number of miscellaneous collections made up of various properties bought from time to time. Regardless of provenance, however, the manuscript is a valuable acquisition.

## II

The Rylands manuscript (English MS. 1243), preserved complete except for the absence of the first leaf, which perhaps served as a blank wrapper or contained the title, consists of 282 leaves, written in three hands on at least two kinds of paper.

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of its discovery and acquisition, see Professor Edward Robertson's article, "Sought-For Manuscript Comes to Light", in the *Manchester Guardian*, 19 August 1959, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> In reply to my enquiry, Mrs. Laski was unable to name the then owner, but recalled that Laski approached him indirectly, and that the owner was quite insistent in refusing. Professor Hayek has kindly passed along to me an anecdote of Laski's, that in answer to his letter the owner had sent an unsigned note saying the pleasure of possessing a manuscript consisted in the fact that nobody else could see it.

I shall describe its three parts in the order in which they were written.<sup>1</sup> The first consists of twenty-three leaves of blue paper, without watermarks, measuring  $12\frac{4}{5}$  by  $8\frac{1}{16}$  inches, in the hand of Helen Taylor.<sup>2</sup> Originally twelve sheets of paper were folded together once, and sewn down the centre to form a gathering of twenty-four leaves. The first leaf is now lost; on the second Helen Taylor began the text of Chapter 1, and copied from Mill's final draft (the Columbia manuscript) on rectos and versos until she finished the verso of the eighth leaf (paginated 14), after which she wrote only on recto sides. This part thus contains thirty pages of text, leaves 2-8 (rectos and versos, paginated 1-14) and leaves 9-24 (rectos only, foliated 15-30), the equivalent of pages 1-31 (to the middle of line 14) of the Columbia edition.

Part two consists of twenty-three leaves of white paper, without watermarks, varying in size from roughly  $11\frac{1}{2}$  to 12 inches in length and from  $8\frac{1}{2}$  to 9 inches in breadth. Written on one side only, the twenty-three leaves represent a fresh start at transcribing Mill's final draft, and give the text of pages 1-25 (entire) of the Columbia edition. The hand is so far unidentified. Dr. Taylor and his colleague in the Department of Manuscripts, Miss Glenis A. Matheson, agree that it is continental in appearance, possibly French; the readings "the successives phases" (1: 18-19), "ressource" (2: 28), "litterary" (3: 12), "A few years laters" (10: 1), "correspondance" (18: 19-20), "failiness" (twice, 22: 16, 17, for "failures"), and "implicite" (24: 21), as in general the many blank spaces and misreadings that were left to be filled in or corrected by Helen Taylor, tend to confirm their opinion.

The third part consists of 236 leaves of white paper similar in size and appearance to that of part two, and also written on one side only. The leaves, foliated 31-150, "150 bis", 151-265, and representing the text of pages 31 (from the middle of line 14) through 221 of the Columbia edition, were written in alternate

<sup>1</sup> I wish to record my thanks to Dr. Frank Taylor, who most generously has volunteered information and answered many queries during my investigation of the Rylands manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> The K section of the Columbia manuscript is also written on blue paper without watermarks, but its leaves measure  $10\frac{1}{4}$  by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

sections by Helen Taylor and Mill's sister Mary Elizabeth Colman,<sup>1</sup> as follows: fols. 31-8, 124-42, 185-265 by Helen Taylor; fols. 39-123, 143-84 by Mary Colman. The sections correspond to the lettered gatherings of the Columbia manuscript: Helen Taylor finished copying the gathering marked B, and went on to E, G, H, I, K; Mary Colman copied the gatherings marked C, D, and F.

From these three parts, the other hands sporadically corrected by her, Helen Taylor made up the copy from which the first edition was printed. To the twenty-three leaves of part two, in the continental hand, she added five leaves from her own original transcript (part one), tearing the leaves foliated 26-30 from the sewn gathering described above, renumbering the first of them "24, 25, 26", and deleting the last eleven and a half lines of the continental hand's folio 23 in order to make the connection with her own text. The 236 leaves of part three made up the rest of the press-copy; the whole is marked for printing, with compositors' names in pencil at intervals and other press markings in blue and black pencil and in ink.<sup>2</sup>

The question of dating is, of course, crucial, and unfortunately the first two parts of the manuscript cannot be dated with any precision. It is a fairly safe conjecture that Helen Taylor began the copying, since the continental hand's part two (fols. 1-23 of the press-copy) was taken over in the press-copy to replace her own transcription of the same text. But since both parts derive independently from Mill's final draft, the order cannot be proved, and it is not clear why part two was used at all, because, even after Helen Taylor read over and corrected it, it contained some 370 more variants from Mill's final draft than her own copy of the same text, and, more significantly, some ninety substantive variants (all but two of them errors) against her own more modest twenty-five. She may have chosen it

<sup>1</sup> The identification of this hand, which I have since confirmed by comparing reproductions of Mary Colman's letters and the manuscript, was first made by Dr. Marjorie Plant, Deputy Librarian of the British Library of Political and Economic Science.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript is now preserved in the press-copy arrangement described above, with the rejected eighteen leaves of Helen Taylor's original transcription (part one) relegated to the end.

for its more elegant appearance—the hand, despite its failings in accuracy, is neater and more legible than her own—or she may have reasoned (wrongly) that it guaranteed a better text, since she had herself corrected it.<sup>1</sup> In any case, since both parts transcribed the early pages of Mill's final draft, which were written out in revised form from the Hollander-Illinois draft in 1861, they could have been copied at any time after 1861 and before Helen Taylor came to England with the manuscript in 1873.

With part three, forming the bulk of the press-copy, the problem of dating can be dealt with more satisfactorily. The presence of Mary Colman's hand is significant. After the more or less complete break with his family in 1851,<sup>2</sup> Mill apparently became reconciled with his sister in the 1860's, for in a draft letter of 6 January 1871 he states his intention of increasing from £80 to £100 an annuity that he had offered her "several years ago".<sup>3</sup> Late in 1872 or at the beginning of 1873, Mary Colman and her daughter Minnie visited Mill and Helen Taylor at Avignon, where they made plans to remain for a year. But in January 1873 word came from another of Mill's sisters that Mary Colman's favourite son Archie had died by drowning on the first day of the year, and their plans were thus interrupted. By the end of February, furnished with money by Mill, Mary Colman and her daughter had returned to England, and taken lodgings in Bristol, in order to provide a home for another son, Henry, who wanted "regular & steady habits".<sup>4</sup> In an undated letter to

<sup>1</sup> It is similarly not known why the continental transcriber stopped (if he did) with folio 23. One may speculate (1) that he gave up the copying as too difficult—he obviously had much trouble in deciphering Mill's holograph—or (2) that Helen Taylor took the manuscript to England to continue the copying there, while the continental transcriber remained in France.

<sup>2</sup> See Hayek, pp. 171-5; Packe, pp. 351-7, 505.

<sup>3</sup> British Library of Political and Economic Science, Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 47, item 54. I am considerably indebted to Mr. C. G. Allen, Senior Assistant Librarian, for selecting and sending photostats of the relevant documents, and to the Librarian for allowing me to quote unpublished passages from them. In my quotations I have omitted words deleted in the originals.

<sup>4</sup> Helen Taylor to Stuart Colman (a draft), February 1874; Harriet I. Mill to J. S. Mill, 14 January 1873 (Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 20, item 202; vol. 2, item 229).



Helen Taylor, written shortly after their arrival in Bristol, Mary Colman reminds her of her promise "to write if I can be of *any* service to you or John".<sup>1</sup>

In early May 1873, when she read in the newspapers that Mill was seriously ill, Mary Colman telegraphed to Helen Taylor, "Shall I come? Can start immediately".<sup>2</sup> Probably Helen Taylor replied that she should not, for the next relevant document, a letter written to her from Paris, 13 May, by another of Mary Colman's sons, Stuart, begins, "We thought that you might like to have my Mother with you—and as she had already started, when your letter arrived I telegraphed the substance to her in London".<sup>3</sup> Possibly Helen Taylor was herself preparing to cross the Channel. In midsummer she was in England, "pressing on as quickly as I am able" with the publication of the *Autobiography*, "having come to England for that purpose only".<sup>4</sup>

Mary Colman's opportunities for transcribing her sections of the press-copy are thus limited, from the available facts, to (1) the winter of 1872-3, when she and her daughter visited at Avignon; (2) possibly May 1873, when she may have returned to Avignon immediately after Mill's death; and (3) the summer of 1873, when she could have assisted Helen Taylor in England. The remaining evidence strongly supports the likelihood that part three was copied after Mill's death, and in England rather than at Avignon. For one thing, in a letter to Alexander Bain, 14 September 1873, writing of the passages about herself in the *Autobiography*, Helen Taylor says, "I never saw these passages until it was too late to ask him [Mill] to erase them".<sup>5</sup> If she speaks the truth, she could not have copied any of Mill's text beginning with page 184 of the Columbia edition until after his death.

<sup>1</sup> Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 20, item 187.

<sup>2</sup> Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 20, item 188 (I have corrected and punctuated the French clerk's copy of the message). The telegram is dated 8 May, one day after Mill's death.

<sup>3</sup> Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 20, item 197.

<sup>4</sup> From a note or letter drafted on the back of a letter from the editor Howard Evans, dated 30 July 1873 (Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 53, item 58).

<sup>5</sup> Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 4, item 18. The full text of this draft is given below.

In the manuscript itself there is evidence that part three was copied all at one time, and that the work was done hastily, probably just before it was sent to the printer. It has been noticed earlier that part three was written alternately by the two women in sections corresponding to the lettered gatherings of the Columbia manuscript. On the last leaf of each of Mary Colman's sections and two of Helen Taylor's three sections (fols. 38, 123, 142, 184) the text ends short of a full page; the readiest explanation is that the two women copied simultaneously. From the presence of pencilled markings referring to the Columbia manuscript, and the manner in which the press-copy was foliated, the process of simultaneous copying can be reconstructed as follows.<sup>1</sup>

While Helen Taylor copied the remainder of the Columbia gathering B, foliating 31-8 from her transcription of the preceding text (part one, which ended with fol. 30), Mary Colman began copying Columbia C, numbering her leaves 1C, 2C, and so on to 27C (fols. 39-65). By the time Mary Colman reached 27C, Helen Taylor had finished folios 31-8, foliated Mary Colman's leaves already copied (1C-26C), and given her the proper number for the leaf she was then writing; Mary Colman continued copying C and D, foliating as she wrote (fols. 65-123). Meanwhile Helen Taylor copied Columbia E, numbering, from the second leaf, E2, E3, and so on to E19 (fols. 124-42), and then went on to G, which she numbered in the same manner (G1-G19, fols. 185-203). She apparently left Columbia H and the three pages of I for Mary Colman to transcribe, and went on to Columbia K, numbering again in the same manner until she reached K6 (fol. 231). At this point it must have become clear to her that Mary Colman was lagging too far behind, whereupon she returned to the last leaf of her transcription of Columbia G, added "H1" after the "G19" already at the top of the page,

<sup>1</sup> The facts may be summarized in a note. In part three Helen Taylor copied fols. 31-8, 124-42, 185-265; Mary Colman copied fols. 39-123, 143-84. Pencilled references to the Columbia manuscript appear as follows: 1C-27C (fols. 39-65), E2-E19 (fols. 125-42), G1-G18 (fols. 185-202), "G19 H1" (fol. 203), H2-H17 (fols. 204-19), K2-K6 (fols. 225-8, 231, which, as I shall show subsequently, were first foliated 227-31). Helen Taylor foliated 31-64, 124-43, 185-265; Mary Colman foliated 65-123, 144-84.

and began (with a different pen) copying H where she had left off at the end of G. When Mary Colman finished Columbia D, Helen Taylor foliated the leaves of her own copy of E (fols. 124-42) and the first of the leaves (fol. 143) on which Mary Colman was to begin copying F. The latter finished copying F (fols. 143-84) apparently when Helen Taylor was writing H17 (fol. 219), whereupon Helen Taylor foliated her own transcription from G1 on (fols. 185-219), finished H, copied I, foliated her six leaves already copied of K, and then continued to the end, foliating as she wrote.

Obviously the copying was done simultaneously in order to gain time. Further evidence of haste lies in the large number of errors in this part, and in the fact that although Helen Taylor here and there corrected and punctuated Mary Colman's transcript, she could not have read it over entirely or attempted to prepare it in any thorough way for the press. Mary Colman's pages of the press-copy went to the printer with more than 1,200 variants from Mill's text unaltered, including some 170 substantive variants—all of them errors, and many quite obvious.<sup>1</sup>

### III

The *Autobiography* was published by Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, "8vo. price 7s. 6d.", on 17 October 1873.<sup>2</sup> The "second edition" of 1873 is apparently a re-issue of sheets from the first impression, with a cancellans title-leaf pasted to the stub of the original title and a twelve-page index inserted between signatures Y1 and Y2 and pasted to Y1.<sup>3</sup> Several

<sup>1</sup> Several of her variants—"much" for "such" (55: 7), "few" for "view" (60: 6), "since" for "hence" (65: 11), "well" for "fell" (105: 17), "progress" for "process" (112: 6), "advice" for "device" (114: 30), "needs" for "creeds" (117: 5), and perhaps even "Brown" for "Owen" (118: 9)—as well as her habit of joining separate sentences, suggest that Mary Colman copied at least partly from dictation.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Athenaeum*, 11, 18 October 1873, pp. 451, 508; *The Times*, 17 October 1873, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that this re-issue represents a second impression, but I have assumed otherwise for lack of evidence. Facts drawn from an examination of three copies cannot, of course, produce bibliographical conclusions; they may, however, serve to initiate research into the printing of the work. Dr. Taylor has enquired in many directions seeking records of the original printers, Savill, Edwards and Co., but without success; Longmans' records of transactions with this company were destroyed by enemy action in 1940.

variant states within the first impression may be identified:<sup>1</sup> 5 : 25, "Theoctetus" (Houghton), "Theætetus" (Hollander), "Theætetus" (2nd); 113 : 9, "effect me" (Houghton, Hollander), "effect on me" (2nd); 156 : 4, "eine furchtliche Fortschrei-" (Houghton), "ein fürchterliche Fortschrei-" (Hollander, 2nd); 206 : 9, "reticences" (Houghton), "retinences" (Hollander, 2nd); 273 : 1, "there-" (Houghton), "there" (with space for the missing hyphen, Hollander, 2nd); 292 : 17, "defending" (Houghton), "defeating" (Hollander, 2nd); *erratum* leaf correcting 113 : 9 inserted between signatures Y1 and Y2 (Hollander; absent in Houghton, unnecessary in 2nd).<sup>2</sup> In the first week of November, a sub-edition was issued in New York by Henry Holt and Co., from plates of the first issue. Omitting the *erratum* leaf, it contains the uncorrected readings "Theoctetus", "effect me", "eine furchtliche Fortschrei-", "reticences", but also the corrected reading "defeating"; in addition, it corrects a misprint common to the London issues, "abandoniug" (123 : 15), and replaces a dropped-out hyphen in "country-" (285 : 6).

From collation of the Rylands press-copy with the Columbia manuscript and the 1873 edition, it now appears a near miracle that the printed text preserved as much of Mill's final draft as it did. For, to be brief, the press-copy shows over 2,650 variants from the manuscript on which it was based. The figure includes more than 450 substantive variants—verbal changes and the omission of some 580 of Mill's words, not counting the

<sup>1</sup> In this paragraph, page and line numbers refer to the 1873 edition; the designations "Houghton", "Hollander", and "2nd" refer, respectively, to (1) a copy of the first issue in the Houghton Library, Harvard University (TP2138.79.4); (2) the Hollander copy of the first issue in the University of Illinois Library; and (3) Illinois' copy of the second issue (B/M645/Ed.2). Dr. W. H. Bond has kindly checked readings in the Houghton copy.

<sup>2</sup> The Oxford World's Classics edition took its text from a copy containing at least three uncorrected readings, "Theoctetus", "eine furchtliche Fortschrei-", and "defending" (the last is emended to "defeating", with the note, p. 248, "defending 1873 : misprint"), but with the corrected reading "retinences". It introduces some twenty-five new accidental variants, and four substantives. In impressions after 1944 (the latest I have examined before that of 1958), several lines were reset at the foot of pp. 137, 152-3, 168, 184-5, and in the process a fifth substantive variant (the omission of "an") was introduced on p. 137.

"suppressed" passages omitted in proof-stage—and roughly 2,200 accidental variants (the running-together of separate sentences, variants in paragraphing, spelling, punctuation, italicization, capitalization). To ignore the accidentals and speak only of substantives: the continental hand was responsible for ninety-five variants, of which two were corrections of errors in Mill's draft; Mary Colman introduced 172 substantives, all of them errors; Helen Taylor was responsible for 190, of which three were corrections.

What is remarkable is that of these 452 variants, not including the five corrections or the "suppressed" passages, only sixty survived proof-correction and appeared in the first edition—three from the continental hand's transcript, nine from Mary Colman's pages, and forty-eight from Helen Taylor's. Proof-correction against Mill's final draft, whether by Helen Taylor or by some other person (for example, Alexander Bain, who was reading the text of the *Autobiography* in the weeks just before it was published), must have been extensive, since Mill's text was therefore substantively restored in some 390 places (not to speak of printer's errors); most of the accidental variants were similarly corrected. A list of substantive variants from Mill's final draft that originated in the press-copy and were retained in the first edition may be given here:<sup>1</sup>

10 : 12	or] and (14 : 14)	35 : 33	it] this (50 : 26)
10 : 19	those] these (14 : 21)	47 : 2	"Jurisprudence"] on Juris-
24 : 36	ordinary corrupting] corrupt-		prudence (66 : 9-10)
	ing (35 : 18)	57 : 21	an official] official (81 : 14)
28 : 29	factitious] fictitious (40 : 17)	61 : 10	Torrens. Under <sup>3</sup> ] Torrens,
30 : 34	men whom] men (43 : 21)		and under (87 : 11)
33 : 23	sloth <sup>2</sup> ] ease and sloth (47 : 17)		

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the Columbia manuscript is given first, with page and line reference to the Columbia edition (which does not, however, always give the reading of the manuscript: see below); that of 1873 follows, with reference to the first edition in parentheses. Two uncorrected readings in some copies of the first edition—"Theoctetus" and "defending"—also derive from the Rylands press-copy.

<sup>2</sup> In the manuscript, Mill first wrote and deleted "indolence", then interlined and deleted "ease", and finally interlined "sloth".

<sup>3</sup> In this reading and five others (163 : 29, 167 : 16, 169 : 26, 194 : 18, 194 : 36), Mill first wrote the version given by the Rylands copyist, who either overlooked Mill's subsequent emendation or preferred the earlier reading; for various



- 67 : 14 extraordinarily] extraordinary (96 : 3-4) 179 : 22 framed] formed (256 : 2)  
 79 : 16 passing] passive (113 : 10) 181 : 25 palliatives] palliations (258 : 24)  
 83 : 32 in] on (119 : 21) 182 : 34 of] to (260 : 18)  
 85 : 18 grounded] founded (121 : 28) 182 : 35 ingenious] vigorous (260 : 19)  
 86 : 31 Cooperative] Co-operation 185 : 11 another such] another (263 : 25)  
 103 : 25 should] I should (147 : 8) 191 : 16 threw] throw (272 : 20)  
 107 : 23 though] although (152 : 26) 194 : 18 In] and, in (277 : 5)  
 107 : 28 those] these (153 : 3) 194 : 36 & under] under (277 : 25)  
 111 : 3 notion] notions (157 : 23) 198 : 26 who . . . society,] omits (283 : 9)  
 130 : 9-10 a very early] an early (185 : 20)<sup>1</sup> 198 : 33 give] give answers (283 : 16)  
 133 : 9 those] these (189 : 28) 199 : 21 offended] affronted (284 : 15)  
 138 : 18 title] title of (197 : 19) 200 : 9 my own] my (285 : 14)  
 144 : 9 as far as] as (205 : 26) 201 : 2 zealous response] response (286 : 17)  
 156 : 28 &] or (223 : 13) 202 : 29 this] the (289 : 7)  
 156 : 32 for] for the (223 : 18) 203 : 21 before] when (290 : 4)  
 158 : 35 intuition] intuitive (226 : 20) 206 : 12 England] for England (294 : 2-3)  
 160 : 29 by far the] the (229 : 11) 207 : 4 of] for (295 : 6)  
 163 : 29 modern] and modern (233 : 20) 208 : 36 House] House of Commons (297 : 25)  
 166 : 32 for] of (238 : 4) 211 : 34 our] the (301 : 20)  
 167 : 16 & feeling] or feeling (238 : 27) 215 : 26 the] to the (306 : 2)  
 169 : 26 To] and to (249 : 20) 217 : 1 I took] taken (307 : 7)  
 172 : 30 expressing] exposing (243 : 16) 221 : 7 weeks] few weeks (313 : 4)  
 173 : 27 are] were (244 : 22) 221 : 10-11 especially . . . Society,] omits (313 : 8)  
 174 : 29 said] already said (245 : 23)  
 174 : 29 the] this (245 : 23)  
 176 : 23 that] which (251 : 24)  
 178 : 13 many of their] their (254 : 7)

In addition, the press-copy was the source of the rearrangement of nine paragraphs (169 : 4-180 : 11) and of the omission of another (170 : 35-171 : 9), as already described.<sup>2</sup> Of the Rylands folios 224-33, covering the text in question, five leaves also bear pencilled K markings referring to the Columbia draft, as follows : 225 = K2, 226 = K3, 227 = K4, 228 = K5, 231 = K6. Moreover, folios 225-8 were first foliated 227-30, the numbers being later erased and rewritten. The evidence shows that

reasons it is impossible that Mill altered his draft after the press-copy was written. Some of his alterations were made with a faint pen, and some imperfectly (e.g. more than half of his original ampersand at 194 : 18 remains undeleted). In one case (194 : 36), the manuscript reading is questionable.

<sup>1</sup> The press-copy originally had "a very early"; "very" was deleted, leaving "a early".

<sup>2</sup> See above.

Helen Taylor originally copied (and numbered her pages accordingly in pencil) the text of the first eight leaves of Columbia K in Mill's order, and that, upon deciding to re-order the paragraphs, she partly recopied the text but managed to use five leaves of her first transcript in the new arrangement. Folios 224, 229, 230 (which is spaced out toward the end), and 233 represent a revised transcription. The original order thus stood: 224-6 (three leaves rejected, now lost), 227-32, 233 (rejected, now lost); the revised order now stands: 224 (revised transcript), 225-8 (originally foliated 227-30), 229-30 (revised), 231-2, 233 (revised). The most important change in Mill's text was therefore made by Helen Taylor at a fairly late stage, after Mill's draft was transcribed in the press-copy, and after the press-copy's leaves (for this section, at least) were numbered.

Helen Taylor was also responsible for the omission of the "suppressed" passages. All were originally copied into the press-copy, and only a part of one (214: 9-30, beginning "though delicate health") was deleted before the manuscript went to the printer; they were, as the asterisks in the 1873 edition make sufficiently clear, cancelled in proof-correction. She worried a great deal over these passages. In response to Alexander Bain's advice concerning them and some passages praising Mill's wife,<sup>1</sup> she drafted a long letter discussing the problem, defending her

<sup>1</sup> In letters of 6, 13 September 1873 (Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 4, items 15, 17). In the first of these, Bain writes: "There is, indeed, one matter of extreme delicacy, which I have hitherto not remarked upon, but now at last venture to touch: I mean, the terms used in speaking of your mother. Of course, I know well the strength of his admiration for her great and various gifts, and I counted upon his expressing himself very strongly. But I greatly doubt the propriety of your printing those sentences where he declares her to be a greater poet than Carlyle (176), and a greater thinker than himself—and again, a greater leader than his father (or at all events an equal) 205. [He refers to pages of the first edition.] I venture to express the opinion that no such combination has ever been realised in the history of the human race, and I am sure that many will take the same view: and the whole of his statements will be treated as pure hyperbole, proving, indeed, the strength of his feelings, but not the reality of the case. I think that your mother, yourself and Mr Mill, will all be placed in a false position, before the world by such extreme statements. Of course, I do not wish you now to consider the re-casting of the eulogy, but I would earnestly desire that you should omit those three phrases of comparison. The incredulous world will be sufficiently startled by what still remains".

publication of the work, and explaining that Mill left "to no one living, but to me, the power to use any discretion in the matter". Written from Monmouthshire, where she was staying with Lord and Lady Amberley, and dated a little over a month before the *Autobiography* was published, the letter is remarkable enough to be given in full :<sup>1</sup>

Ravenscroft, Chepstow, 14<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1873

I feel deeply grateful to you for your letter, and it fully justifies the opinion I had ventured to form of what you would be likely to do. I could have wished only that you had not hesitated to say at once whatever were yr impressions on this or any other topic.

From the point of view of a true and judicious friend of Mr Mill, of his reputation and of his influence at the present time, I believe that you are right ; and if so a doubt may arise whether the time has come when the book ought to be published. If the book as it stands is calculated on the whole, all things considered, to diminish the influence of Mr Mill's opinions, it may be right to withhold it until those opinions have had some time to be fairly tested without prejudice.

I have thought much and anxiously about the passages you mention and many others besides that relate to my father my mother and myself. No task can be conceived more painful to me personally than that of publishing the book ; if I followed my own inclination I should certainly leave it to be published after my death.<sup>2</sup> It cost me much meditation and many struggles before I could make up my mind that the impulse I felt at a moment of intense & painful excitement was a right one, & that the book ought to be published at once ; & with no substantial omissions or alterations. And now, before answering yr letter I have gone over the whole subject again in my mind.

All the earlier part of the Memoir was revised at least twice by Mr Mill himself. It expresses no passing mood or youthful enthusiasm, but the settled convictions of the experience of forty years. What is said in it was published by himself in terms scarcely, if at all, less open to criticism (*teste* Mr Grote's judgement)<sup>3</sup> during his life time. He said these things when he was a young man, a

<sup>1</sup> Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 4, item 18. In three places I have omitted a word inadvertently left undeleted in revision.

<sup>2</sup> She left two identical signed notes in the Columbia manuscript (on the first leaf of A, and on the first of two sheets used as wrappers for K), directing that Mill's final draft was "To be published without alterations or omissions within one year after my death".

<sup>3</sup> In the letter of 6 September, Bain continues : "To give you some idea of the effect produced by the language already published regarding your mother, I may mention the impression made by it on the mind of the gentlest of human kind, and Mr Mill's tenderest friend—Mr Grote. His remark was to the effect that 'only John Mill's reputation could have survived such an exhibition'. We all admire his [Mill's] courage in avowing his feelings ; but if people get the idea that he was liable to exaggerated judgments when the feelings were concerned, they will be apt to set aside his authority on questions generally".

middle aged man and an old man ; he said them publicly & privately, in words in writing and by his actions. He wrote them deliberately & revised them at intervals of long years in a memoir he left behind him expressly that the world might know what manner of man he was, and in his Will he directs that this memoir is to be published within two years of his death, leaving to no one living, but to me, the power to use any discretion in the matter.<sup>1</sup> I know that he trusted me fully ; he told me repeatedly that if I survived him he wished me to use my own judgement in regard to his writings[.] but then I know also that he trusted me because he knew that I regard the general good above all considerations personal either to him or to myself, and truth as essential to the general good. Nothing that I knew of him gave me any reason to suppose that he would have trusted me if he had not known this. The harshest critic could not say of him that he was given to trusting many people nor on short acquaintance.

It seems to me therefore that my duty to his memory, my responsibility to him, cannot be at variance with what is best and rightest in itself. Now, looking beyond the immediate present, can it be right for us to tone down the deliberate and reiterated statements of the impressions of a remarkable man, until we bring them into harmony with the preconceived opinions of the world in general (or of ourselves) as to what his impressions ought to have been? Either the presumed opinion of the world in general (as to which we, like other critics, may be mistaken) is right, or it is wrong. In either case it seems to me false to our own philosophy, to our belief in the value of experience, to attempt to hide this glaring discrepancy between what the world says can be and what a man of trained logical intellect & precision of language, asserts to have been. If this were merely one of the ordinary instances of an extraordinary man sharing common weaknesses it would still be doubtful whether it is not right to permit such instances to be recorded, at least whenever the record will not inflict pain on individuals still living. But, even supposing the world to be right, this is not even such a well known phenomenon. Ordinary men cannot, by the nature of the case, make the mistake Mr Mill made if he did make a mistake, for the very pith of it consists in his statements as to qualities & powers on which ordinary men never dream of having an opinion except what they take from the extraordinary men. Moreover one may safely say that very few peoples experience can furnish them with even a single instance of ordinary men persisting for forty years in saying anything in the least resembling the things which Mr Mill says ; and certainly the history of literature does not furnish another instance. If, on the other hand, the world is wrong in its estimate of human character & faculties, how is it to make progress if the evidence for exceptional facts is to be hushed up and hidden, for fear of its incredulity?

The idea that what Mr Mill has written is the fairest indication of his character, has induced me to leave a great part of what he has written about myself,<sup>2</sup> yet I

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Mill left his correspondence in her hands, " with directions, verbal & written, to deal with them according to my judgement " (Helen Taylor's note, already cited, drafted on the back of a letter from Howard Evans : Mill-Taylor Collection, vol. 53, item 58).

<sup>2</sup> In the letter of 13 September (which Helen Taylor may not have received when she drafted the present letter), Bain comments : " It is a position of no small delicacy, as well as of great honour, to yourself, to be commemorated in such

do not see the same objection to omitting this, because it seems to me to come under another category. I never saw these passages until it was too late to ask him to erase them, but I know that he agreed in the rule that nothing known from private intercourse ought to be published if it gives pain to living persons. If, therefore, on the one hand, the picture of his life is incomplete without these passages, on the other, I am entitled to claim their omission if they exhibit me to the world in a light I have a right to object to. In themselves of course they cannot do so; that he should have thought so of me, & even that others should know he thought so, must be gratifying in its own nature even if he only thought so from affectionate prejudice; but as published by myself they may be supposed to indicate a ridiculous vanity in me. I certainly do not agree in them & would rather not publish them, but I am so hardened to what I dislike that I would publish them or not with equal indifference, & should be glad of advice to help me to form a judgement as to the least of three evils—to suppress particular passages—to publish them—or to keep the book back altogether.

The omission of the passages about Helen Taylor was not the only change made in the course of printing. The 1873 edition introduced eighteen new substantive readings that derive from neither Mill's draft nor the Rylands press-copy, and were therefore made by the compositor in printing or by Helen Taylor or someone else in proof-correction:<sup>1</sup>

26 : 16	well as] well (37 : 20)	161 : 28	were now] were (230 : 22)
28 : 30	excellencies] excellences (40 : 17)	163 : 30	occasions] occasion (233 : 21-2)
29 : 5	could] can (41 : 3)	173 : 36	conscious] conscious of (244 : 31) <sup>2</sup>
42 : 4	or] or to (59 : 24)	174 : 37	methods] method (245 : 31)
51 : 19	on] in (72 : 22)	189 : 27	prevailing] which prevailed (270 : 12)
88 : 23	splendid] fine (126 : 12)	200 : 4	rather] more (285 : 8)
117 : 28	works] work (167 : 10)	201 : 13	who] and who (287 : 2)
128 : 1	have] had (181 : 28)	213 : 21-2	admitting] to admit (304 : 2)
134 : 9	excellencies] excellences (191 : 13-14)		
147 : 1	methods] method (210 : 1)		

lofty terms. You have considered well the question as to the publishing of such a eulogy while you are still alive; and I do not wish to interfere with your judgement. One thing, however, I would suggest, in accordance with what I have already ventured to remark upon: that is, the danger of too pointed comparisons. I would recommend to you, under all the circumstances, to decline the compliment, for yourself, of being more original than Mr Mill."

<sup>1</sup> As in the earlier list, the reading of the Columbia manuscript and reference to the Columbia edition are given first.

<sup>2</sup> For Mill's "conscious how much of her" (173 : 36), the press copy, omitting two words, has "conscious of her".



Of Helen Taylor's three notes in the 1873 edition, two (pp. 251, 265) appear in the press-copy, with the signature "Ed." at the end of each. There is no trace of the third note (p. 240), "Written about 1861.", which presumably was added during proof-correction. In connection with her editing, it is perhaps worth mentioning that there is, in the British Library of Political and Economic Science, a two-page draft continuation of the *Autobiography* in her hand, relating events of Mill's life after 1870, the year at which he left off writing. Intended as an appendix or a final note, the draft appears unfinished, possibly because she could not bring herself to describe Mill's final illness and death, or perhaps merely because she did not complete it before the work was ready for the press. For the record I shall transcribe it here : <sup>1</sup>

The last portion of this memoir was written, at Avignon, in the winter of 1869-1870. The works mentioned in the concluding paragraph are two—one on Socialism upon which the author was still occupied to the last, & which therefore is in an incomplete state ; & one on Theism which he had finished, but kept by him, as was his custom with most of his works, for further consideration & re-touching. The last three years of his life were fully occupied with literary work in addition to these more important productions ; and he himself was of opinion that if his life were prolonged to complete it, his work on Socialism would rank as, at the least, on a level with that on Representative Government. Of his work on Theism the world will be able to judge.<sup>2</sup>

Early in the year 1870 he was in England & delivered a speech at a meeting held at the Hanover Square Rooms in favour of women's suffrage. This was the last speech he spoke on that subject with the exception of one at Edinburgh in January 1871. During the year 1870 he wrote three articles for the *Fortnightly Review* ; one on Professor Cliffe Leslie's work on the Land Systems of different countries ; one on Taine's work "De L'Intelligence" & one on "Treaty Obligations" : he also wrote two letters to the *Times* in the month of November 1870 on the same topic. They were called forth by a cry, that arose at that time in a portion of the English press, for plunging England into a war with Russia. They were the first protest that appeared in any well known name against such a war ; they called forth others & helped to calm down the warlike excitement that was being aroused.

<sup>1</sup> Mill-Taylor Collection, box 1, item 32.

<sup>2</sup> "Chapters on Socialism" appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, new ser., xxv (1879), 217-37, 373-82, 513-30. [*Three Essays on Religion*:] *Nature, the Utility of Religion, and Theism* was published by Longmans in 1874. The writings mentioned in the following three paragraphs are entered in the *Bibliography of the Published Writings of John Stuart Mill*, ed. Ney MacMinn, et al. (Evanston, Ill., 1945), which was edited from a manuscript notebook that Helen Taylor undoubtedly consulted when she drafted this continuation of the *Autobiography*.

In 1871 he spoke at a public meeting called by the Land Tenure Reform Association, a speech which was afterwards published by the Association. During that year he was much occupied with the subject of Land Tenure. He wrote for the Land Tenure association a programme or Expository Statement, setting forth his scheme of reform, and explaining his idea of the equitable claim of the State, as representing the Community, to the increase in the value of land that may arise from the labour of the community as a whole, and at the same time, suggesting the appropriation of this increased value by means of a land tax. Sir Henry Maine's work on Village Communities interested him greatly at this time, bearing as it does on the question of the tenure of land, & he wrote a review of it for the *Fortnightly Review*, published in May 1871. The illness & death of his old friend Mr Grote; the threatening illness of a younger but not less valued friend to whom he looked as the man best qualified to carry on his own work; & the failing health of a member of his own family, combined to depress his spirits during the spring & summer of this year & he derived so little benefit from several botanizing excursions he took with an old friend in Cornwall Yorkshire & Scotland, that there seemed danger of his own health giving way. A few weeks in Switzerland & a residence at Avignon however produced the effect that mountain air & a southern climate seldom failed to produce on him, & he seemed to have recovered his usual health. In November 1871 he published, in the *Fortnightly Review*, an article on Berkeley's Life & Writings, suggested by Professor Fraser's new edition of Berkeley's Works.

In the first half of 1872 he was chiefly occupied with the preparation of a new edition of his *System of Logic*, upon which he bestowed more than usual time & labour. The summer of that year was spent in the Alps of Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Friuli & Venetia, and it was his invariable custom to do no literary work during the excursions he took for health. In the autumn & winter he wrote a review of Grote's Aristotle, published in the *Fortnightly Review* for January 1873, and two articles for the "*Examiner*" (published Jan<sup>y</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> 1873) on Land Reform.

#### IV

I have dwelt more particularly on the press-copy and the edition of 1873 in order to explain the ways in which variants from Mill's final draft were introduced into the printed versions. The importance of the Rylands press-copy lies not in its text as such, but in the fact that it provides the necessary evidence for establishing a proper text of the *Autobiography*. That part three was copied hastily and imperfectly almost certainly after Mill's death, that the whole of the press-copy was sent to the printer with hundreds of errors uncorrected, that all the variants from Mill's final draft had their origin as errors or revisions made in transcribing or in printing and proof-correction—these, along with the fact that there is no evidence, internal or external, that

Mill had a hand in any part of the press-copy, all point to the conclusion that there is but a single authoritative source of text for the *Autobiography*, the draft in the Columbia Library.

One might suppose, therefore, that the Columbia edition is, as it is often called, "definitive". The fact is otherwise; for its editor too frequently depended on the 1873 edition as an aid in reading Mill's hand. The result is that his text, "the definitive printing of Mill's own hand, accurately . . . follow[ing] the varying capitalization and punctuation of the manuscript" (p. v), actually departs from Mill's draft in some 900 particulars. Among these are fifty-four substantive variants, of which five are corrections, made independently or in accord with the 1873 edition, but in any case without comment: "think it" for the manuscript's "think" (17: 24), "with which" for "with" (17: 31), "according to" for "according" (130: 4), "would become" for "would be become" (188: 16),<sup>1</sup> and "1862" for "1861" (189: 35). Of the remaining forty-nine, twenty-six originate as independent errors or misreadings (perhaps six of them misprints), and twenty-three derive from the 1873 edition. Six of the latter represent the retention of independent errors or changes made in the course of printing the original edition; for the seventeen others, the Columbia editor, always ostensibly following the Columbia manuscript, is in the curious position of having printed variant readings originating with the Rylands press-copy and perpetuated in the 1873 edition. The following list (in which the manuscript reading is given first) may serve to emend the Columbia text:

5: 31	where] when	42: 4	or] or to
7: 14	know] knew	46: 15	that] the
10: 12	or] and	46: 34	improvement] improvements
13: 29	know of] know	61: 10	Torrens. Under] Torrens,
15: 3	roused] aroused		and under
23: 32	on] in	65: 30-1	aristocratical] aristocratic
28: 19	an Evil] Evil	68: 5	law of] laws of
29: 5	could] can	71: 34	at] to
29: 35	ideal] idea	79: 16	passing] passive
30: 34	men whom] men	83: 32	in] on

<sup>1</sup> In revisions at 17: 24 and 188: 16, Mill inadvertently struck through "it" and left "be" undeleted.

85 : 18	grounded] founded	167 : 35	evolution] elevation
93 : 1	this time] this	170 : 36	leave] have
103 : 25	should] I should	171 : 25	preceded] preceded it <sup>2</sup>
121 : 19	roused] aroused	171 : 26	her] my wife's
126 : 27	or] of	182 : 34	of] to
128 : 1	have] had	185 : 11	another such] another
133 : 9	those] these	191 : 16	threw] throw
134 : 9	excellencies] excellences	194 : 36	& under <sup>3</sup> ] under
138 : 22	become] became	200 : 9	my own] my
144 : 18	retinences] reticences	201 : 13	who] and who
152 : 19	effect <sup>1</sup> ] effects	202 : 29	this] the
156 : 28	&] or	214 : 17	adhesion] adhesions
156 : 32	for] for the	214 : 21	part] past
158 : 35	intuition] intuitive	214 : 25	Glasgow] and Glasgow
161 : 28	were now] were	220 : 13	me] be

Clearly a new scholarly text is in order, based on a fresh examination of Mill's final draft. Its editor may wish to expand abbreviations, emend Mill's punctuation in a more reasonable and consistent manner than has hitherto been achieved, reduce unaltered capital letters of initial words rearranged into some other position within a sentence, and perhaps make other changes according to stated editorial principles. In most respects, including Mill's characteristic spellings (e.g. "shew", "cotemporary", "burthen", "stile"), the draft can be reproduced verbatim.<sup>4</sup> As this article goes to press, word comes from the University of Toronto Press that detailed plans are being drawn

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript reading is perhaps questionable; in the Hollander-Illinois draft Mill clearly wrote "effect".

<sup>2</sup> In this and the next entry, the Columbia editor accepted alterations to Mill's draft interlined in pencil by Helen Taylor. Elsewhere he printed five words (the parenthesis at 32 : 19) that are deleted in pencil, presumably by the same hand.

<sup>3</sup> As noticed earlier, the manuscript reading is questionable.

<sup>4</sup> If the editor has the luxury of a full textual apparatus, he may wish to give cancelled readings in the notes. One interesting deletion, hitherto unpublished, occurs in the Columbia manuscript at 216 : 16, a sentence written on the verso of the preceding leaf and marked for insertion after "were hers.": "I must add that whatever has been done by us for the diffusion of our opinions & of our principles of action by private intercourse & the direct influence of mind over mind, has been almost wholly her work, my own capacities of the kind being almost confined to my writings : & no one but myself knows at how great a sacrifice both of her personal tastes & inclinations & of her health that function was performed by her."

up for a scholarly edition of Mill's collected works, with a volume to be devoted to the *Autobiography* and other personal documents. If it attends to the evidence offered by the Rylands press-copy, it can, where the *Autobiography* is concerned, be the first edition to give all the words that Mill intended to have published.



# HEBREW MS. 6 IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TWO HITHERTO UNKNOWN POEMS BY YEHUDAH (HALEVI?)<sup>1</sup>

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**H**EBREW MS. 6 in the John Rylands Library, which contains the famous fourteenth-century Spanish Passover Haggadah, has not as yet received the detailed treatment it so rightly deserves. The comparatively little attention it has received has been concerned almost exclusively with the illuminations it contains.<sup>2</sup> The Haggadah, however, has other distinctive features which merit study. The more arresting of these are : A. The text of the ritual, which shows variations in wording and pointing from those in other famous Haggadoth.<sup>3</sup> B. The running commentary concerning the *Sēdher* ritual embodied in the Haggadah proper. C. The other commentary, mainly on the text of the Haggadah, attributed to Rabbi Solomon. D. The minuscular writing bearing on the Passover which adorns a number of folios on which *piyyuṭim* (liturgical poems ; see below) are recorded. E. The comparatively large number of Biblical lines which are carefully set out at the top and bottom of

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used : B.M. I = British Museum MS. Or. 1404; B.M. II = British Museum MS. Add. 27210; Gabirol = *Shīrē Shelomo Ben Yehudah Ibn Gabirol* (4 vols.), ed. H. N. Bialik . . ., Tel-Aviv, 1928; Kuzari = *Sepher Ha-Kuzari*, translated by Yehudah Ibn Tibbon (Lemberg, 1866); Schirmann = *Ha-Shtrāh Hā-'Ibhrīth Bi-Sephārad* . . . (2 vols.), by H. Schirmann, Tel-Aviv, 1954-56; *Thesaurus* = *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*, (4 vols.), by I. Davidson, New-York, 1924-33; ZYH = *Kol Shīrē Rabbi Yehudah Halevi* (3 vols.), 2nd edn., edited I. Zmora, Tel-Aviv, 1948-1950.

<sup>2</sup> See Helen Rosenau, "Notes on the Illuminations of the Spanish Haggadah in the John Rylands Library", *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, vol. 36, No. 2, March, 1954.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g. *Die Darmstädter Pesach-Haggadah*, ed. Bruno Italiener, pp. 71-147. See also E. D. Goldschmidt's *Die Pessach Haggada*, pp. 25-8 and especially p. 36 of the *Einleitung*.

most of the *piyyuṭ* text. F. The many *piyyuṭim*, some of which are not found elsewhere, as far as can be ascertained. The yield of desirable data should a thorough investigation be made of these subjects is self-evident.

The following, which begins with a general account of C, D, and E, and proceeds with a fuller account of F, makes special reference to two *piyyuṭim* composed by a certain Yehudah (or by certain Yehudahs), one not known to exist elsewhere, and the other known to exist only in one other manuscript, B.M. I.<sup>1</sup>

C. At the top of fol. 20<sup>r</sup> are recorded the following decoratively written words : פִּירוּשׁ הַהֵלֵל <sup>2</sup> לִרְ[בִּי]נוּ שְׁלֵמָה [ו'ל'], set in the middle of the first line of the commentary. The remainder of the commentary is to be found on fols. 20<sup>r</sup> (bottom)—36<sup>v</sup>, two lines at the top and three at the bottom of each folio. It is identical in layout and handwriting with E and with Yehudah Halevi's two poems written at the top and bottom of fols. 5<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>r</sup> (see below p. 248), save for the vowels, which are here lacking. This commentary, attributed here to *Rabbēnū Shelômô*, by which Solomon Yizḥāqī (= Rashi) is most likely meant, is not so attributed in the various printed editions of the Haggadah (cf. e.g. *Haggadah shel Pesah*, Vilna, 1879, where we see Rashi's commentary, gleaned from various parts of his halakhic works, which bears no resemblance to ours). Instead, a very similar text to ours, except for substantial additional matter on the opening folios of our text,<sup>3</sup> is attributed in printed editions to RaSHBaM (= Rabbēnū Shemū'el b. Mē'ir), the grandson and pupil of Rashi. After some examination of the RaSHBaM commentary on Pesahim, 99b to the end (121b), which includes many points dealt with in our commentary, I am inclined to

<sup>1</sup> See further, p. 253. I am greatly indebted to Mr. S. Lowy of Leeds University for having copied for me the B.M. I version of this poem as well as for having supplied me with valuable data concerning the whole of this manuscript, a Passover Haggadah which resembles ours in some respects and contains many *piyyuṭim* included in our Haggadah. He has also furnished me with some information concerning B.M. II, also a Passover Haggadah. Neither of these manuscripts is mentioned in the *Thesaurus*.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the letters of this word, though a little impaired, are clearly visible. The Haggadah is called here *hallel*, since a substantial part of it is made up of Psalm chapters known by this name as well as of other passages in praise of God.

<sup>3</sup> This additional text actually occupies fols. 20<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>v</sup>.

question the statement made at the opening of the latter. The attribution to Rashi of works written by other scholars is well known. Compare, for example, the commentaries on Chronicles and Bereshith Rabba. (There is also some evidence that numerous notes in the existing commentary on the Major and Minor Prophets which is ascribed to Rashi are from the pen of RaSHBaM.)

D. The minuscular writing. This is to be found on fols. 5<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>; 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>; 40<sup>v</sup>-43<sup>r</sup>; 47<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>r</sup>; 50<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>r</sup>. This text, set in arabesque tracteries, may well have been written by the same hand which is responsible for the other parts of the Haggadah although a first impression suggests otherwise, the writer having perhaps used here a thinner quill in order to be the more able to manipulate the characters and fashion them to his various ornamental designs.<sup>1</sup> For that matter, the characters are semi-cursive and of varying size. As most of the letters are minute and dot-like and the ink with which they were written pale, it is not always easy to decipher them even with a magnifying glass. On examining numerous passages, however, I found them to be drawn from the Babylonian Tractate Pesahim, with some variations in style.

Here are a few typical passages which will readily show why they have been included in the Haggadah of Passover: " . . . Why, then, do you not perform the search (for leavened bread) at six o'clock? . . . (because it must be) at a time when people are (usually) in their homes, and (furthermore)—when the light of the candle is bright enough to carry out the search " (Pes. 4a) (fol. 37<sup>v</sup>). " . . . Why, then, do you not recite both blessings over one cup (of wine)? . . . because one should not group religious duties together in this wise (but pay attention to each singly) " (Pes. 102b) (fol. 50<sup>v</sup>).

E. The Biblical texts. At the top of fol. 37<sup>v</sup> we have an Aramaic mnemonic occupying two lines drawn from Meg. 31a, indicating the initial sentences of each of the eight pericopes read during the eight Passover-days. The order of the respective

<sup>1</sup> On examining an enlarged photograph of part of the minuscular writing of fol. 51<sup>r</sup>, which the John Rylands Library has kindly prepared for me, I find this view confirmed.

eight pericopes according to the Haggadah are thus : (1) Exod. xii. 21-51 ; (2) Lev. xxii. 26-xxiii. 44 ; (3) Exod. xiii. 1-16 ; (4) Exod. xxii. 24-xxiii. 19 ; (5) Exod. xxxiv. 1-26 ; (6) Num. ix. 1-14 ; (7) Exod. xiii. 17-xv. 26 ; (8) Deut. xv. 19-xvi. 17. This agrees with the custom as practised down to the present day by both Ashkenazim and Sepharadim. On fol. 50<sup>v</sup> we read "Should the last day of Passover occur on Sabbath the reading would start with 'assēr te'assēr" (Deut. xiv. 22). This again is in keeping with the practice of the present day.<sup>1</sup> In reality, however, the Haggadah records only the pericopes for the festival-days of Passover and not for its week-days, namely, 1, 2, 7, and 8.

These Biblical texts, written in small but clear characters, are to be found on fols. 37<sup>v</sup>-53<sup>v</sup>, each folio having at its top two lines and at its bottom three lines, except for fol. 45<sup>v</sup>, at the top of which there is only one line and at the bottom none at all.<sup>2</sup> These lines are fully vocalized, the system of vocalization being that of Ben-Asher as found in our accepted printed Hebrew Bibles. Though the ink of the vowel-signs and accents is often pale (the colour resembling that of the minuscular decorative writing described above) and makes examination difficult, it seems to me safe to say that there are hardly any variations in the vowels. However, there are variations of some significance in Masoretic signs other than the vowel-signs. The customary diacritic point placed on the top of the right "tooth" of the *shîn* and on the top of the left "tooth" of the *sîn* as a means of distinguishing between them, is not to be found here.<sup>3</sup> (In the Haggadah proper and in the *piyyuṭim* the *shîn* has its diacritic

<sup>1</sup> See Maimonides, *Sēpher ha-Maddā', Hilekhōth Tephillāh*, 13, 8 and *Haggāhōth Maimōniyyōth*, ad hoc.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for this is that this folio (45), was erroneously placed here. This is obvious from the fact that the continuing words, אל תוך הים, of ופרשיו of Exod. xiv. 23, with which 44<sup>v</sup> ends, are to be found at the top of 46<sup>r</sup>, and the continuing word, בשערך, of אשר of Deut. xvi. 14, with which 53<sup>v</sup> ends, is to be found at the top of 45<sup>r</sup>. That the folio does not belong here is also seen from the *piyyuṭim* recorded on it. See below p. 250, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The controversy about the pronunciation of these two letters in pre-Masoretic times is well known (see, e.g. M. Z. Segal, *Yesōdhē ha-Phōnetiqāh hā-'Ibhrīth*, p. 28). It is interesting to observe here that as late as the fourteenth century a Spanish scribe who generally follows the Ben-Asher system of pointing does not follow it in this particular instance.

point placed to the right of the top of the middle "tooth" and the *śîn* to the left of it). There are no *maqquphs* and, as it would appear, no *methegs*. The accents (not complete?) also differ. Orthography differs very slightly and this mainly as regards the *wāws* as vocalic letters. There are indications of *sethûmôth* and *pethûhōth*, and in the case of Exod. xv. 1-19; xv. 21, which comprise the song of Moses and Miriam respectively, there are spaces between the various members of the verses. The tetragrammaton consists of two *yôdh*s placed horizontally, above which is placed a third *yôdh* and again to the left of which is to be found a symbol which looks like an elongated *yôdh* drawn upside-down. The *lāmed*s occurring in the top lines have their ascenders with a flourish going slightly to the right and then upwards, these ascenders being free from interference by other letters. This is also the case with some of the other *lāmed*s in the text.

F. The *piyyuṭim*. The Hebrew-Spanish poets of the Golden Age (beginning about A.D. 950), who exhibited considerable ability in the composition of poetry of a secular nature, also made a great contribution to sacred poetry—to *piyyuṭim*. Here, to be sure, some courage was needed on the part of the poets to introduce, as they did, new types and forms in addition to the revered, well-established and well-defined types and forms which originated in Palestine from about the fifth century onwards.<sup>1</sup> The spirit of the Spanish poets, ever innovating, endeavoured to do away with these structurally-complicated and linguistically-difficult ancient Palestinian forms of synagogal poetry, and from the latter half of the eleventh century we see the poets replacing them gradually but steadily by a great variety of short *piyyuṭim*, simple in style and structure. In them they introduced, in addition to numerous novelties in form such as strophes and rhymes and the Arabic metre, new features in theme and context such as philosophical notions of a religious nature of Arab-Greek origin prevailing at that time in Spain. They even dared to introduce into these sacred poems secular ideas drawn from Arabic poetry.

All these new features are well represented in the many *piyyuṭim* contained in our Haggadah, *piyyuṭim* which must have

<sup>1</sup> See Wallenstein, *Some Unpublished Piyyuṭim*, etc., pp. 4-5; 22-5; 88-90.



been in vogue in Spain in the fourteenth century. Here is the full list of the opening words of the poems in the order in which they appear in the manuscript :

1. Fol. 2<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup> : פסח מצרים אסירי יצאו חפשים. See *Thesaurus*,<sup>1</sup> III, pe, 144.
2. Fol. 3<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup> : מבית און שבת מדני. See III, *mên*, 166.
3. Fol. 5<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup> : אשאלה רשיון שוכן אפדני מרומים ('*Azhārôth*)<sup>2</sup> by Yehudah Halevi : See I, '*āleph*, 7806.<sup>3</sup>
4. Fol. 5<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup> : אמתה ' צרופה ויראתו . . . טהורה ('*Azhārôth*). See I, '*āleph*, 5950.
5. Fol. 7<sup>v</sup> : זמרה עם נכאה (*Pizmôn*).<sup>4</sup> See II, *zayin*, 263.
6. Fol. 8<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup> : ליל שמורים אותו אל חצה. See III, *lāmedh*, 726.<sup>5</sup>
7. Fol. 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>r</sup> : יעורר נאום חוזה (*Pizmôn*), by Yehudah Halevi. See II, *yôdh*, 3134.
8. Fol. 37<sup>v</sup> : יונה מעונה מה תען בשיחיה (*Reshûth*<sup>6</sup> for *Nishmath*).<sup>7</sup> See II, *yôdh*, 2044.
9. Fol. 37<sup>v</sup> : כיום ולחי כל ימי עולמך (*Muḥarak*).<sup>8</sup> See II, *ḳaph*, 229.
10. Fol. 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup> : נשמת ישראל עמך שארית עמוסה (*Nishmath*). See III, *nûn*, 766.
11. Fol. 38<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup> : יחיד מקדם לכל פלאיו גלים (*Ôphân*).<sup>9</sup> See II, *yôdh*, 2577.

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth the word *Thesaurus* will be omitted in the list.

<sup>2</sup> Lit., "exhortations". When intended for Pentecost, treating of the 613 precepts of the Law. In our case, only the laws concerning Passover are treated. There are also '*Azhārôth* intended for the Sabbath before the New-Year.

<sup>3</sup> The details of the lay-out of this *piyyuṭ* as well as of *piyyuṭ* 7 by Yehudah Halevi are identical with those of C (but unlike C, it is fully vocalized ; see p. 244) and E (but unlike E, it is not accented ; see p. 246).

<sup>4</sup> Apparently derived from the V *pzm* which is given as a rendering of the V '*nh* in Tar. to Exod. xv. 21 and Job xxx. 1. It usually consists of a few lines and serves as a refrain.

<sup>5</sup> This *piyyuṭ* for the Evening Prayer of the first night of Passover is extant in three versions, the Roman, the Roumanian and the Ashkenazi, which differ from each other mainly with regard to the number of "links" of which it is composed and in the order in which these "links" appear in the poem. In the order of the "links" our poem follows that of the Ashkenazi version, and in number that of the Roman and Roumanian versions. So do B.M. I (27<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>) and B.M. II (22<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> Lit., "(taking) permission (to pray)". It serves as a kind of an introduction to certain pieces of the established prayers as well as to various *piyyuṭim*. The *Reshûth* is usually very short.

<sup>7</sup> Borrowed from a prayer beginning with this word. It is intended to be recited after the words '*anaḥnû môdhîm* which occur in the prayer.

<sup>8</sup> An Arabic term implying movement. The exact connection for the *piyyuṭ* in question between this word and the title it serves is not known. It stands as a *pethîḥāh* (meant here "preliminary *piyyuṭ*") to *Nishmath*.

<sup>9</sup> Intended to be recited before the words *weḥâôphanîm weḥayyôth haqqodhesh* which occur in *Birkhōth Yôzēr* in the Morning Prayer. It usually describes the





12. Fol. 38<sup>v</sup>: יושבה בנים ציץ פרחך (*Me'ôrāh*).<sup>1</sup> See II, *yôdh*, 2367.
13. Fol. 38<sup>v</sup>: ירוחם כך יתום אסיר תקוה (*Me'ôrāh*), by Yehudah Halevi. See II, *yôdh*, 3819.
14. Fol. 38<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>r</sup>: יונה נכספה למצא מנוחה (*'Ahabhāh*).<sup>2</sup> See II, *yôdh*, 2052.
15. Fol. 39<sup>r</sup>: אזי בהגלותך לימים קדומים (*Zûlath*).<sup>3</sup> See I, *'āleph*, 2202.
16. Fol. 39<sup>r</sup>-39<sup>v</sup>: יום פדותי בעדו כל שואלי יעציבני (*Ge'ullāh*).<sup>4</sup> See II, *yôdh*, 1887.
17. Fol. 39<sup>v</sup>: שזופת שמש לחוצת פתרוסים (*Māghēn*).<sup>5</sup> See III, *shîn*, 776.
18. Fol. 39<sup>v</sup>: שלח רוחך להחיות (*Meḥayyeh*).<sup>6</sup> See III, *shîn*, 1350.
19. Fol. 39<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>: בטל אצור לברר וללבן (*Reshûth* for *Ṭal*). See II, *bêth*, 407.<sup>7</sup>
20. Fol. 40<sup>r</sup>: מבטח כל היצור ומעוזם (*Pizmôn*). See III, *mēm*, 145.

holiness of the angels, but sometimes also God's creation. Here poets, desirous of producing a semblance of the constant sounds and vibrations brought about by the celestial beings in their fervent performance of duties, use many rhymes and a great variety of assonances and alliterations.

<sup>1</sup> Intended to be interwoven in one of the pieces of the *Birkhōth Yôzēr*. It owes its name to the closing word of the last sentence of this piece. It usually treats of the relationship between God and His people with the expression of hope that redemption is not far off.

<sup>2</sup> Intended to be interwoven into one of the pieces of *Birkhōth Yôzēr*. It owes its name to the closing word of the last sentence of this piece, a sentence prior to which the *'Ahabhāh* is supposed to be recited. Its theme is as a rule the love of God to Israel. Here poets introduced the ideas, motifs and phrases drawn from Canticles—an inexhaustive source for poets who followed the traditional view that the whole of Canticles is an allegory, its subject matter being presented in the guise of the love which exists between God and His people (see *Mid. Cant. passim*).

<sup>3</sup> Borrowed from the phrase *'ên 'elôhîm zûlāthekhā* in the *Birkhōth Yôzēr*, after which it was intended to be recited. It treats mainly of the greatness of God as revealed in His deeds.

<sup>4</sup> Borrowed from the phrase *bārûkh . . . g'al Yisr'el* which occurs in the *Birkhōth Yôzēr*, intended to be recited following that phrase. Its theme is, as is that of the *Me'ôrāh*, the relationship between God and His people. It usually also treats of exile and redemption.

<sup>5</sup> The first "link" in a *qerôbhāh* intended to be recited after the first of the Eighteen Benedictions. It owes its name to the phrase *māghēn 'abhrāhām* with which this benediction ends.

<sup>6</sup> The second "link" in a *qerôbhāh* intended to be recited after the second of the Eighteen Benedictions. It owes its name to the phrase *meḥayyeh hammēthîm* with which this benediction ends.

<sup>7</sup> This *piyyuṭ*, known to have been composed by Solomon Ibn Gabirol, is broken into three times by foreign *pizmônîm*—by 20, 21, and 22. This can be gathered from an examination of its structure and contents. For while it is faithful to its title *Reshûth* for *Ṭal*, treating of the subject of dew, it is embellished with additional subjects such as the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve signs of the zodiac presented in a well-thought-out scheme and metre—matters absent from the *pizmônîm*.

21. Fol. 40<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>: אנא הרק ממעל עד בלי די (*Pizmôn*).<sup>1</sup>
22. Fol. 40<sup>v</sup>: יה מראשיתך ייטיב אחריתך (*Pizmôn*). See II, *yôdh*, 994.
23. Fol. 40<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>: יום הפילי תחנתי בעד טל (*Pizmôn*). See II, *yôdh*, 1682.
24. Fol. 41<sup>r</sup>: ידעתך בשם נשא וגאה (*Reshûth*). See II, *yôdh*, 662.
25. Fol. 41<sup>r</sup>: שער אשר נסגר קומה פתחהו (*Reshûth*). See III, *shûn*, 2046.
26. Fol. 41<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>v</sup>: נשמת חוגי חג המצות לה' (*Nishmath*). See III, *nûn*, 687.<sup>2</sup>
27. Fol. 41<sup>v</sup>: יקרו להלל יה (*Ôphân*). See II, *yôdh*, 3668.
28. Fol. 41<sup>v</sup>: אשפיל לך לבי ועיני (*Me'ôrâh*). See I, 'âleph, 8161.
29. Fol. 42<sup>r</sup>: יעלת אהבים שמחי ורני (*Me'ôrâh*). See II, *yôdh*, 3198.
30. Fol. 42<sup>r</sup>: שמעי בת וראי למה (*Me'ôrâh*). See III, *shûn*, 1840.
31. Fol. 42<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>: יבוא לחדרו הדוד (*'Ahabhâh*). See II, *yôdh*, 96.
32. Fol. 42<sup>v</sup>: אומר לצפון תני חילי (*Zûlath*). See I, 'âleph, 1905.
33. Fol. 42<sup>v</sup>: כל ימי צבאי אחיל (*Ge'ullâh*). See II, *kaph*, 332.
34. Fol. 43<sup>r</sup>: גילי זבול ראו הדרך (*Reshûth*) by Yehudah Halevi. See II, *gimel*, 159.
35. Fol. 43<sup>r</sup>: שלום לבן דודי הצח (*Reshûth*). See III, *shûn*, 1224.
36. Fol. 43<sup>r</sup>: שפל רוח שפל ברך (*Reshûth*). See III, *shûn*, 2103.
37. Fol. 43<sup>r</sup>: דר חביון באפריון (*Muḥarak*). See II, *dâleth*, 334.
38. Fol. 43<sup>r</sup>-43<sup>v</sup>: נשמת ידידים המשכימים עם החתן (*Nishmath*).<sup>3</sup>
39. Fol. 43<sup>v</sup>: נשמת ישראל עמך ישישו ביום מנוחה (*Nishmath*).<sup>4</sup>
40. Fol. 43<sup>v</sup>: יגדל יקר גורא (*Qaddîsh*).<sup>5</sup> See II, *yôdh*, 197.
41. Fol. 43<sup>v</sup>-44<sup>r</sup>: יוצר מסתתר ביצרו (*Ôphân*).<sup>6</sup>
42. Fol. 44<sup>r</sup>: ישן בכנפי הנדוד (*Me'ôrâh*), by Yehudah Halevi. See II, *yôdh*, 4163.
43. Fol. 44<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>: יום רצון לשוב למשרה (*'Ahabhâh*).<sup>7</sup>
44. Fol. 44<sup>v</sup>: יה למיחלים הרם יד ימינך (*'Ahabhâh*) by Yehudah Halevi. See II, *yôdh*, 945.
45. Fol. 44<sup>v</sup>: ישוב צבי ישוב לחדרי (*'Ahabhâh*).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See further, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Here is an additional piece of information to that given in the *Thesaurus*. It is also found with slight variations in the following MSS.: Copenhagen 30 (67<sup>v</sup>-68<sup>r</sup>); B.M. I (39<sup>v</sup>); B.M. II (57<sup>v</sup>). It is also embodied in the Sarajevo Haggadah (see *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* by Müller and Schlosser, Vienna, 1898, p. 60), a Haggadah which contains numerous other poems included in our Haggadah.

<sup>3</sup> See further, p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> This *Nishmath*, not recorded in the *Thesaurus*, is also included in B.M. I (47<sup>v</sup>) and B.M. II (79<sup>v</sup>-80<sup>r</sup>) with some variations.

<sup>5</sup> Strictly speaking, a *Reshûth* which is a doxology mainly written in Aramaic, recited following the prayer termed *Peṣuqê dezimrâ*.

<sup>6</sup> See further, p. 253.

<sup>7</sup> See further, p. 252.

<sup>8</sup> This *'Ahabhâh*, no record of which is found in the *Thesaurus*, is also found in B.M. I (43<sup>v</sup>). It should be noted here that because of the misplaced fol. 45 (see n. 2, p. 246), the first five verses of the poem are written on fol. 44<sup>v</sup> and its



46. Fol. 45<sup>r</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>: רחמי ידיד כליל הוד (*Ge'ullāh*). See III, *rēsh*, 832.
47. Fol. 45<sup>v</sup>: יה קום וגלה צפוני זמני (*Ge'ullāh*). See II, *yôdh*, 1086.
48. Fol. 45<sup>v</sup>: ימין עוך אי ואי חסדך (*Ge'ullāh*). See II, *yôdh*, 2966.
49. Fol. 46<sup>r</sup>: יעלת צבי חכסוף (*Ahabhāh*). See II, *yôdh*, 3222.
50. Fol. 46<sup>r</sup>: חולת צבי למה לבך (*Ahabhāh*). See II, *hēth*, 87.
51. Fol. 46<sup>v</sup>: ארך זמני כמה וכמה (*Ahabhāh*).<sup>1</sup>
52. Fol. 46<sup>v</sup>: צור המקורא בצור ישראל (*Zûlath*). See III, *zādē*, 189.
53. Fol. 46<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>: ידעתי חי גואלי ואלי משפט הנאולה (*Ge'ullāh*). See II, *yôdh*, 658.
54. Fol. 47<sup>r</sup>: נרד וכרכם צץ בעי (*Ge'ullāh*). See III, *nûn*, 602.
55. Fol. 47<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>v</sup>: יש ארוכה ומרפא יש צרי אל כאבי (*Ge'ullāh*) by Yehudah Halevi. See II, *yôdh*, 3934.
56. Fol. 47<sup>v</sup>: יהמה לבבי על נדוד (*Ge'ullāh*). See II, *yôdh*, 1489.
57. Fol. 47<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>r</sup>: אחשוק ולא אדע מקום עופר (*Ge'ullāh*). See I, *'āleph*, 2596.
58. Fol. 48<sup>r</sup>: יקרה תהלתך גילי. משוש לבי (*Reshûth*) by Yehudah Halevi. See II, *yôdh*, 3667.
59. Fol. 48<sup>r</sup>: למתי זרוע אל יהי מאנוש פחד (*Reshûth*) by Yehudah Halevi. See III, *lamedh*, 1192.
60. Fol. 48<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>: כל הנשמה תהלל במליה (*Muḥarak*). See II, *kaph*, 312.
61. Fol. 48<sup>v</sup>: שם אל אשר אין לו ערך (*Muḥarak*). See III, *shîn*, 1415.
62. Fol. 48<sup>v</sup>: נשמת יוצאים לאורות מחשכות (*Nishmath*). See III, *nûn*, 732.
63. Fol. 49<sup>r</sup>: שיר יחדש במקדש (*Qaddîsh*). See III, *shîn*, 987.
64. Fol. 49<sup>r</sup>: יחיד בגאנו וחסדו (*Ôphān*). See II, *yôdh*, 2505.
65. Fol. 49<sup>v</sup>: יזכרו פלאך צבא מרום (*Me'ôrāh*) by Yehudah Halevi. See II, *yôdh*, 2413.<sup>2</sup>
66. Fol. 49<sup>v</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>: יפה נוף רדוי נוף (*Ahabhāh*). See II, *yôdh*, 3356.
67. Fol. 50<sup>r</sup>: מי יתני כימי אלה (*Ahabhāh*). See III, *mēm*, 1132.
68. Fol. 50<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>: יום נפלא בן עמרם (*Zûlath*) by Yehudah Halevi. See II, *yôdh*, 1865.
69. Fol. 50<sup>v</sup>: ימים רבואות וחדשים מאות (*Ge'ullāh*). See II, *yôdh*, 2954.
70. Fol. 51<sup>r</sup>: שרש בנו ישי עד אן (*Reshûth*). See III, *shîn*, 2214.
71. Fol. 51<sup>r</sup>: יבש בעצר מי צדקי (*Reshûth*). See II, *yôdh*, 177.
72. Fol. 51<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>v</sup>: אחלי לצורי אחלי בשורי (*Muḥarak*).<sup>3</sup>

remaining four verses on fol. 46<sup>r</sup>. The word דרך with which the sixth verse begins is also recorded at the extreme left side of fol. 44<sup>v</sup> with a few clusters of dots above it—no doubt meant to attract the reader's attention to look for its sequence elsewhere (no such catchwords are recorded on the other folios of the Haggadah; see, however, n. 3, p. 252.). If the scribe of the Haggadah was also its binder (which may well be; the Kennicott Bible, e.g., now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is likely to have been bound by its scribe. See C. Roth, *The Kennicott Bible*, Bod. Picture Book 11, p. 3), we can well understand his desire to rectify his mistake in this way.

<sup>1</sup> See further, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> This poem was copied twice. See poem 79.

<sup>3</sup> This poem is also included with some slight variations in B.M. I (42<sup>r</sup>).

73. Fol. 51<sup>v</sup>: אמרו בני אלהים במה (*Muḥarak*). See I, 'āleph, 5843.  
 74. Fol. 51<sup>v</sup>-52<sup>r</sup>: נשמת הדופים דחופים לקרא (*Nishmath*). See III, nūn, 678.  
 75. Fol. 52<sup>r</sup>: אלי הלעד מעוני (*Qaddīsh*).<sup>1</sup>  
 76. Fol. 52<sup>r</sup>: יה שכינתך בינת אנשים ('*Ōphān*). See II, yôdh, 1136.  
 77. Fol. 52<sup>r</sup>-52<sup>v</sup>: הסתו ארה ארה מעצבי (*Me'ôrāh*). See II, hē, 944.  
 78. Fol. 52<sup>v</sup>: יום תאוה יגלה יחשה (*Me'ôrāh*). See II, yôdh, 1954.  
 79. Fol. 52<sup>v</sup>: יזכרו פלאך צבא מרום (*Me'ôrāh*).<sup>2</sup>  
 80. Fol. 53<sup>r</sup>: את מחזה הוד אל (*Me'ôrāh*). See I, 'āleph, 8559.  
 81. Fol. 53<sup>r</sup>: ברה הידעתם ידידי הצבי ברה (*'Ahabhāh*). See II, hē, 416.  
 82. Fol. 53<sup>v</sup>: נאוה בעז התאורי (*'Ahabhāh*). See III, nūn, 20.  
 83. Fol. 53<sup>v</sup>: אחד עשר מסעות (*Zûlath*). See IV, 'āleph, 640.<sup>3</sup>

To sum up: Rylands Hebrew MS. 6 comprises eighty-three poems minus one,<sup>4</sup> seventy-three of which are recorded in the *Thesaurus*, together with the identifications of most of the poets. From this it may readily be seen that the greater number of those whose share of poems in the Haggadah is relatively large<sup>5</sup> flourished between A.D. 1020-1150, namely in the years when the so-called Hebrew Golden Age in Spain attained its zenith, coinciding as it did with the culturally-rich Mulūk Aṭ-Ṭawā'if and Almoravid Periods.<sup>6</sup> The relatively large number of poems known to be Halevi's is seen from the particular mention of their author which I have made in the list of *piyyuṭim*. These number eleven (3, 7, 13, 34, 42, 44, 55, 59, 65, repeated in 79, 68). The poems of which there is no record in the *Thesaurus* number nine (21, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 51, 72, 75). Of these nine, poem 39 was found to be included in B.M. I and in B.M. II<sup>7</sup> and poems

<sup>1</sup> See further, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> See n. 2, p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> The continuation of this *Zûlath* is on fol. 45<sup>r</sup>, beginning with the word וריתה, a word which is also recorded with superposed clusters of dots on the extreme left hand side of fol. 53<sup>v</sup>. See n. 8, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> See n. 2, p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> The poets, according to the counting of the *Thesaurus*, who have a relatively large number of their poems included in the Haggadah are Yizḥaq Ibn Gayyat (112); Yehudah Halevi (11, as already noted in the body of the article); Solomon Ibn Gabirol (8); Abraham Ibn Ezra (7); Yoseph (6). (There are also, among others, three poems by Nahum; two by Zerahyah Halevi and one by Mosheh Ibn Ezra).

<sup>6</sup> See A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, chapters entitled "The Mulūk . . . Period"; "The Almoravid Period".

<sup>7</sup> See n. 4, p. 250.

45 and 72 in B.M. I.<sup>1</sup> We are thus left with six poems (21, 38, 41, 43, 51, 75) which seem to survive in our manuscript only. In the following an attempt will be made to examine in detail two out of the nine poems—poems 41 and 45—and speculate on their possible author (or authors).<sup>2</sup>

Poem 41

Analyzing the structure and acrostic of the poem (an 'Ôphān<sup>3</sup> of the *muwashshah*<sup>4</sup> type), we find that it consists of four strophes, each with a rhyme of its own in its three opening hemistichs (*delāthôth*), and again with a rhyme of its own in its three closing hemistichs (*sôgherîm*). The strophes thus have eight different rhymes.<sup>5</sup> They—the strophes—are “girded” by five *muwashshahat*,<sup>6</sup> each of which is made up of two *deleth*-and-*sôghēr* lines. The final syllable of the *deleth* of the first line of the first *muwashshah*, which is *rô*, being followed by the *delāthôth* of the second to the fifth *muwashshahat*; and the final syllable of the *deleth* of the second line, which is *dô*, being followed by the corresponding second to the fifth *delāthôth*. This scheme is not maintained with regard to the *sôgherîm*. Here the first final syllable, which is *nô*, is followed by *all* the other *sôgherîm*. The name יהודה is spelt acrostically as follows: the *yôdh* at the beginning of the first *deleth* of the first *muwashshah* and the remaining letters at the beginning of each *deleth* of the four strophes, respectively. The metre for both hemistichs of the whole poem is - ∪ - - - - .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See n. 8, p. 250 and n. 3, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to H. Schirrmann, A. M. Habermann and A. Mirsky for information in connection with some of the poems included in Hebrew MS. 6. I hope to deal with the other seven unpublished poems elsewhere. <sup>3</sup> See n. 9, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> This Arabic term, loaned from the girdling of a girdle set of diamonds, etc., may be translated as “girdle poem”. “Girdle poems” (*muwashshahat*) originated amongst the Arabs in Spain, who developed them with great ingenuity and skill. For recent contributions to Hebrew *muwashshahat*, see S. M. Stern . . . חיקיי מושחות ערביים בשירת ספרד, (*Tarbitz*, xviii. 166-86, 1946); and “Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwassahs hispano-hébraïques”, (*Al Andalus*, viii. 299-346), Madrid, 1948.

<sup>5</sup> The common rhyme of the *sôgherîm* of the first and third strophes seems to be coincidental, brought about by the context.

<sup>6</sup> The first being called *pethûhah* and the last *hathîmāh*.

<sup>7</sup> There are, however, a few variations, the poet practising, in common with other poets of the Spanish School, his poetic licence particularly with regard to the *shewā* mobile, taking it as *shewā* quiescent whenever the need arises.

The origin and place of activity of the fairly large number of poets whose poems have been assembled in our Haggadah suggest that, should we wish to consider poets bearing the name Yehudah to whom poem 41 might be ascribed, it is to the Spanish School that we must turn. Now, from the five known Yehudahs of this School, Yehudah Ibn Bil'ām (born about the middle of the eleventh century), to whom are conjecturally attributed a few liturgical poems of little poetical power embodying the acrostic Bil'ām,<sup>1</sup> may safely be eliminated from the start. Likewise, neither Yehudah Ibn Shabbathai nor Yehudah Al-Ḥarizi (both of the twelfth and thirteenth century) are likely to be its authors, the first being a troubadour poet, who wrote only secular poetry of the *maqama* type,<sup>2</sup> and the second mainly a *maqama*-writer,<sup>3</sup> who composed only a comparatively small number of liturgical poems which have nothing in common with either the subject-matter or the language of our poem. There remains the possibility of its author being either Yehudah Halevi or Yehudah Ibn Gayyat, the intimate friend of Yehudah Halevi, who possessed poetical ability of no mean order. Unfortunately, however, Gayyat's extant poems are comparatively few in number (and at that mainly secular!)<sup>4</sup> and consequently yield but a few features which might serve as objects of comparison with those of poem 41.

We turn, then, to Yehudah Halevi. Is our Yehudah to be identified with him? Before attempting to answer this question some comparison should be made between the pronounced features of poem 41 and those found in Halevi's known works. Beginning with the external features, we find that the 17 'Ōphannîm<sup>5</sup> known to have been written by Halevi resemble in a number of their conspicuous structural characteristics those embodied in our poem, which is also an 'Ōphān. And it is as well to stress the words "a number of features", for the very term *muwash-shah*, as seen above, suggest variety. Most of these 'Ōphannîm are also made up of four strophes, each comprising three rhyming *deleth-and-sôghēr* lines. These are "girded" by five *muwash-shahat* each comprising two rhyming *deleth-and-sôghēr* lines

<sup>1</sup> See Schirmann, i. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. ii. 97-103.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. i. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ii. 69-70.

<sup>5</sup> See ZYH, iii. 119-51.

with the name Yehudah spelt acrostically in the very same manner as in poem 41.

Turning to contextual features of our poem the following preliminary remarks should be noted. Since the beginning of research on Halevi's poetry, it has been recognized that a close study of the *Kuzari*, his philosophical work, would prove helpful in the elucidation of many passages in his poems<sup>1</sup>—the *Kuzari* having been composed very late in his life, by which time most of his poetry would have been written. The two works, the poetical and the philosophical, may be shown to be parallel and at once reflecting and complementing each other. But while the first employs verse, metre and elevated style to express emotions and beliefs which worked intermittently in the course of a long stretch of years in the mind and heart of the poet-philosopher, the other uses restrained and sober prose to put forward set conceptions which crystallized during the latter days of the philosopher-poet.

Examining, then, the more salient points contained in poem 41, we see that the paradoxical feeling expressed in its first few lines, that God is at once within His creation and away from it—an anti-nomy frequently expressed by Halevi in many of his poems<sup>2</sup>—has its counterpart in the *Kuzari*, though here it assumes a less mystical form. Halevi, in the *Kuzari*, tries time and again to define and limit man's ability to fathom and grasp God.<sup>3</sup> Another notion, that of the Prime Cause and the series of intellects emanating from it—a Neoplatonic notion which reached the Jews in the Middle Ages in an Arabic garb—is also referred to in the *Kuzari*, though indirectly.<sup>4</sup> In our poem it is given

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. S. Luzzatto, *Divan R. Yehudah Halevi* (Lyck, 1864), p. 2 (of the divan proper), n. 2; p. 13, n. 7; p. 19, n. 7. For studies illustrating the relationship between Halevi the philosopher and Halevi the poet, see I. Heinemann, "Rabbi Yehudah Halevi . . ." (*Keneseth*, vii. 261-79); "Ha-Philosôph ha-Meshôrêr" (ibid. ix. 163-200); *Jehudah Halevi, Kuzari* . . . (Oxford, 1947).

<sup>2</sup> See further, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g. *Kuzari*, II, 2, 4, 50; V, 25. This theme was, of course, used by many Jewish poets and thinkers of the Middle Ages (e.g. Gabirol and Mosheh Ibn Ezra). Halevi, however, seems to have cherished the theme more than others. See *Keneseth*, ix. 168 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See, I. Goldziher, "Le Amr ilâhî . . . chez Juda Halévi", *Revue des Études Juives*, L, 32-41. (Paris, 1905). See, however, the concluding pages of the present article.



a fairly elaborate treatment. The intellects' existence and virtues are those of the Original Existence, proceeding as they do from Its very source. They are made up of graded groups with related functions, but in carrying out the functions they act concentrically, having the Prime Cause as their common centre whose force works in all of them in turn. The intellects, existing only in virtue of the Original Centre, thus have a drift towards, a yearning for, It and aim at Its likeness. The motion of the intellects, their awe, their deportment and the way they perform their duties, all of which is brought about by His fiat, is artistically woven into the "celestial chariots" as depicted in the first chapter of Ezekiel. Another idea, the idea that God's grace sustains, and His light permeates, all world-phenomena of which man is the elect and the Jewish people the elect of the elect, equalling heavenly beings, expressed in the last few strophes of the poem, is also in evidence at every turn in the *Kuzari*. Divine power (in our poem "His light", "His grace"; line 16),<sup>1</sup> according to the *Kuzari*, though obtaining its full strength of penetration only on the supreme level of the organisms of Nature's realms,<sup>2</sup> is always one and the same, and in this respect is like the sun. The sun is uniform but the bodies receiving its light react in different ways. "Those most suited to receive its 'transparent light' are the ruby and the crystal."<sup>3</sup> The Jewish people is the most suited to receive this light, the Divine power having descended on all of them, and, "like Adam who was wrought from a substance chosen by Him in which there was no contaminated influence", it is "perfection itself", and it is thus able to enter into communication with God and spiritual beings<sup>4</sup>—into "the fifth realm".

Poems known to have been written by Halevi containing passages embodying ideas and idioms recalling those in our manuscript are too numerous to be given here. They abound particularly in his '*Ôphannîm*'.<sup>5</sup> Here are a few examples only.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in this connection, "Their (the intellects') source emanating from His holy light"; *sôghêr* of line 4.

<sup>2</sup> See *Kuzari*, I, 31 and Heinemann's *Jehudah Halevi Kuzari* . . ., p. 54, commentary thereon.

<sup>3</sup> *Kuzari*, IV, 15.

<sup>4</sup> See *Kuzari*, I, 95 ; II, 12.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 5, p. 254.

For lines 1-2, cf. <sup>1</sup>עצם כבודו הכיל כל . . . לא מקום יכילהו. For line 4, cf. <sup>2</sup>הכל רואה ומבין סתריז ואם הוא נסתר בחביק; יסוד היסוד . . . הוא כל ומאתו כבוד הכל ואור לא נעדר <sup>3</sup>; ראש לכל סבה ועלילה. For line 6, cf. <sup>4</sup>דברך יחכו גדודי וכול ואור המאורים באוצרך. For *sôghēr* of line 9, cf. <sup>5</sup>ותחן ערכם . . . ברדת . . . ומורא. For *sôghēr* of line 15, cf. <sup>6</sup>לך דרי אדמה הבונים מארבע יסודות <sup>7</sup>; בגיית ארבע יסודות <sup>8</sup>. כל פרודות ונצמדות הם יסודות להמה ובם יצמח כל צמח והאדם והבהמה. There are particularly numerous passages echoing lines 19-20. Cf., e.g., <sup>9</sup>ותחן מהודך על עם עומד בסודך <sup>10</sup>; ועלי בחיריו רוח קדשו שכן <sup>11</sup>; הן למדוני הדמות למשרתי רב תעצומות <sup>12</sup>; קדושת אל בישראל להדמות לשרפים <sup>13</sup>; שלשו קדשו וכשרפים שמו קדשו <sup>14</sup>; קול מרימות להדמות לכרובים <sup>15</sup>. For the *deleth* of line 21, cf. <sup>16</sup>מחנה ערך סביב כסאו למול מחנה. <sup>17</sup>הנני אקדיש כסוד מחנם בסוד מחני. <sup>18</sup>ארבע מחנותיך . . . ובהם מחנות יעקב. <sup>19</sup>הנני אקדיש כסוד מחנם בסוד מחני. The phrase <sup>20</sup>כל פעל האל למענו of the *sôghēr* of line 21, which is drawn almost verbatim from Prov. xvi. 4, is repeated in different ways in Halevi's poems. For the last *sôghēr* in the poem, cf. <sup>21</sup>מקדשים ומשלשים וכתור ליוצרם נותנים. <sup>22</sup>Conspicuous echoes of both the ideas and language of our poem are found in the poem beginning with <sup>23</sup>יה אנה אמצאך as well as in that beginning with <sup>24</sup>אלהים אל מי אמשילך.

The following is the poem reconstructed, annotated and translated :

<sup>1</sup> ZYH, iii. 670. For the *deleth* of the first line, cf. *ibid.* p. 695.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 141. ואם has here the sense of "although"; common in Medieval Hebrew poetry in general and in Halevi's poetry in particular. For this meaning in the Bible, cf. Jer. xv. 1; Ps. cxxxiii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> ZYH, iii. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 661.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 182.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 147.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 658.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 439.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 130.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 125.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 252.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 119.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 128.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 131. For the last three examples, cf. *sôghēr* of line 7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 132.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 151. The V *hnh* is a favourite with Halevi in many of his other poems, secular inclusive.

<sup>19</sup> Cf., e.g. ZYH, i. book 2, p. 114, where the same idea is expressed thus <sup>20</sup>ליחודו ולכבודו יצרכם; iii. 140, where we have again the same idea expressed thus <sup>21</sup>צרך לו כל כי הוא פעלו. For very similar wordings to that of ours, cf. i. book 3, p. 78; iii. 708; *ibid.* p. 696. See *Keneseth*, ix. 167, n. 31.

<sup>22</sup> ZYH, iii. 131.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 141.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 121 f.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 303-9.

## אופן

- יִוצֵרִי מִסֵּתֶתֶר בְּיוֹצְרוֹי<sup>1</sup> 1  
 אֶךְ רְחוּקִי בְּיָנוּי, וּבְיָנוּי<sup>2</sup>  
 מְלֵאָה הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדִי 2  
 אֶךְ אֶפֶס מְקוֹם לְשִׁכְנוֹי<sup>3</sup>  
 הָאֲצִיל מְרוּחוֹי שְׁכָלִים<sup>10</sup> 3

<sup>1</sup> Emblematical term for the Supreme Being, used extensively in Hebrew works of a religious nature.

<sup>2</sup> A *plena* spelling of בְּיָנוּי, a practice not uncommon in unvocalized Hebrew texts throughout the ages. (It occurs also in poem 45. See n. 10, p. 268.) We thus have here a newly coined segholate noun יִוצֵר "creation". The pointing in the manuscript, however, is יִוצְרוֹי, a senseless pointing.

<sup>3</sup> Here, as in Joshua iii. 4, it is used as a noun (in the light of what is now known from the Dead Sea Scrolls about the spelling of segholate nouns, רְחוּק of Joshua iii. 4 may well be a segholate noun; but this is not the place to enlarge on this matter).

<sup>4</sup> *Pluralis excellentiae*, since the reference is to God.

<sup>5</sup> For the whole line, cf. Joshua iii. 4 and note the plural in the *qerē*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Isa. vi. 3.

<sup>7</sup> For my translation of the last three words, cf. Isa. v. 8, where אֶפֶס is used poetically for אֵין.

<sup>8</sup> This word, which appears as a *hapax* in Deut. xii. 5, has been read by modern scholars (see, e.g. E. König, *Hebrew Grammar*, ii. 1, 21) לְשִׁכְנוֹי. This obviously does not tally with our line, where it is a noun, parallel with כְּבוֹדִי of the *deleth* of this line.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Num. xi. 25. אֶצֶל in the Hiph'il is used extensively in medieval Hebrew philosophical and poetical works in the sense of "emanation". Cf., e.g. . . . בהאצילך על גלגל המולות (Gabirol, iii. 69, line 184). Cf. also *ibid.* p. 68, line 171.

<sup>10</sup> This word, which occurs in the Bible only in the singular with the meaning of "prudence", "insight", is prevalent in various medieval Hebrew philosophical works, also in the plural, connoting "supernatural powers", "angels". Cf., e.g. "and they (the angels) have been called הַשְּׁכָלִים הַנּוֹפְרִידִים" (Maimonides, *Millôth Ha-Higgāyôn*, 14). An apt definition of these celestial powers is given by Yehudah Halevi ". . . and they are שְׁכָלִים, detached from matter, but eternal like the Prime Cause and never threatened by decay" (*Kuzari*, i. 1). In the poem quoted in the following note Halevi calls these *sekhālīm* הַנּוֹשְׁמוֹת הַטְּהוֹרוֹת (ZYH, iii. 304). The expression . . . מִטְּבַע הַשְּׁכָל הַנּוֹפְרִיד (see Ben-Yehudah, xvi. 7571a) by Abraham Ibn Ezra, a contemporary of Halevi, is of special interest here.

- נְבָדָלִים עַל מַחְלָקוֹתָם<sup>1</sup>  
 מַעְלוֹתָיו תָּמָה עֲלוּלִים<sup>4</sup>  
 מֵאוֹר קָדְשׁוֹ תוֹצְאוֹתָם  
 כָּל אֶחָד יִשְׁ-לוֹ פְּעָלִים<sup>5</sup>  
 מִמְּשָׁלִים אֵלֶּי מַעְלוֹתָם<sup>7</sup>  
 זֶה אֵל זֶה יִשְׁלַח דְּבָרוֹ<sup>6</sup>  
 יִשְׁפִּיעַ אוֹר מַעְיָנו<sup>10</sup>  
 כָּל מַעְיָנו בְּחִמּוּדוֹ<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the division of angels into various groups according to their service, cf. *Kether Malkhûth*, by Solomon Ibn Gabirol (Gabirol, iii. 69-70, lines 199-215). Cf. also Halevi's poem beginning with אלהים אל מי אמשילך (ZYH, iii. 303-9). See p. 257. For a Biblical echo as to the wording, cf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in the manuscript. See following note.

<sup>3</sup> If the pointing מַעְלוֹתָיו be accepted (a pointing supported by the metre) it will be taken as במעלותיו (similarly, Ezek. xli. 18, where the *bêth* which should follow the participle עשוי is implied), מעלה in post-Biblical Hebrew meaning "virtue" (cf. perhaps the Biblical מעלה in 1 Chron. xvii. 17). We will thus have here the idea of emanation so explicitly expressed in the 2nd to the 5th verses of the poem (see n. 9, p. 258). However, מַעְלוֹתָיו (singular עֲלָה, "a cause"; so also in Aramaic; cf. also the Arabic) will also fit well the context (though not the metre!). Moreover, עלה and עלול appear, as they do here, frequently together in medieval Hebrew philosophical works. Cf., e.g. לעולה . . . קודמת . . . העלה (*Guide of the Perplexed*, i. 69). Cf. also *Yesôdhê ha-Tôrah*, ii. 6, by Maimonides.

<sup>4</sup> This expression, common in the Qabbalistic literature, is of special interest in this comparatively early poem.

<sup>5</sup> The word פְּעָל, which in the Bible means "deed", "work", assumes here a slightly extended meaning which approaches my translation.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 1 Chron. xxvi. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Here: "degree", "rank". See n. 3 above.

<sup>8</sup> For this phrase applied to angels, cf. Isa. vi. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Often used in medieval Hebrew with regard to divine inspiration. Cf., e.g. *Guide of the Perplexed*, i. 40.

<sup>10</sup> The manuscript reads מַעְיָנו.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. כָּל מַעְיָנו בְּךָ (Ps. cxxxvii. 7), the more accepted translation of which is "all my springs are in Thee" (see, however, the American translation of the Bible of 1917). The *sôghêr* that follows it, however, would suggest that מַעְיָנו be taken as "his thoughts", "his contemplation". Qimhi's rendering of Ps. cxxxvii. 7 approaches this meaning. It is thus used metaphorically in various Hebrew works (cf., e.g. Berachiah Hanakdan's *Dodi Venechdi*, ed. H. Gollanz,

חֲפָצוֹ הַדְּמוּתִי לְקוֹנוֹ <sup>1</sup>	
וּבְרוּחוֹ שִׁפְרָה שְׁחָקִים <sup>2</sup>	8
רָצִים אֶל עֵבֶר פְּנֵיהֶם <sup>3</sup>	
אוֹ כְּרָאִי מוֹצֵק חֲזָקִים <sup>4</sup>	9
מוֹרְאוֹ עַל לִבֵּיהֶם <sup>5</sup>	
הֵם שׁוֹאֲבִים הִמָּה מְרִיקִים <sup>6</sup>	10
וּמְרוֹצָתָם הִיא כְּלִיָּהֶם <sup>7</sup>	
אִם כָּל חוּג סוֹבֵב בְּצִירוֹ <sup>8</sup>	11

p. 10 Heb.). חמור, the passive participle, which in the Bible is applied to non-sacred objects (cf., e.g. Ps. xxxix. 12; Job xx. 20) and once even to idols (Isa. xlv. 9), is used here as an epithet for God apparently through an Arabic influence (cf. the Arabic *maḥmudh*, which is often used as an attribute to God).

<sup>1</sup> Infinitive Hithpa'el with the omission of the *lāmedh*, the preformative *tāw* being assimilated to the *dāleth*. (For similar examples, cf. Job. v. 4 and Num. vii. 89). See following note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gen. xiv. 19. Cf. also Isa. xiv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Job xxvi. 13a, where שפרה, however, is pointed as a noun of the *qitlāh* pattern. The difficulty of this reading is obvious (see e.g. E. K. T. Cheyne, *Jewish Quarterly*, 1897, p. 578; N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job*, Jerusalem, 1957, pp. 383-4). In our text שפרה (אשר שפרה) is used as a transitive Qal. This makes Job xxvi. 13a much smoother (though, admittedly, not Job xxvi. 13b, as it cannot easily be explained in the same vein).

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript reads עֵבֶר.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ezek. i. 9 and 12. See following note.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Job xxxvii. 18. It seems to serve here as a rendering of וּנּוֹצְצִים כַּעַן נַחֲשֵׁת קָלַל of Ezek. i. 7, the reference being to the creatures of the celestial chariot. Cf. also Ezek. i. 13-14.

<sup>7</sup> For the form, cf. Nahum. ii. 8. For the idea of the whole line, see p. 261.

<sup>8</sup> The manuscript reads שׁוֹאֲבִים with *śn*. This is senseless.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. "and the living beings *ran and returned* as the appearance of a flash of lightning". The swift, lightning-like running hither and thither of the *ḥayyôth* is seen by the poet as if there is some matter being pumped out successively from vessels set in array and pumped back into other vessels. Thus there is again a reference to the notion of emanation. In this connection Gabirol's וְשׁוֹאֵב מִמְּקוֹר הָאוֹר בְּלִי דְּלִי וְפוֹעַל הַכֹּל בְּלִי כְּלִי (Gabirol, iii. 64, line 63), referring to God's emanation of His wisdom, has more than a mere linguistic bearing on our somewhat obscure but suggestive line.

<sup>10</sup> The manuscript reads בְּצִירוֹ. This is denied by the rhyme which should be here *ró* (see p. 253). For a Biblical echo supporting the emendation, cf. והדלת תסוב על צירו (Prov. xxvi. 14). בצירו, however, instead of על צירו, is



תְּכִנִּיתָם עֲמִד בְּעֵינַי

שֹׁפֵר עָלָיו מַעֲבָדוֹ 12

כָּל מַעֲשֵׂהוּ מְרֻצּוֹ

דְּוָמָם צוּמָח וּמְרִישׁ 13

יִתְלָדוּ עַל מִשְׁפָּחוֹתָם<sup>10</sup>

due to the metre which requires here a *she'wa* mobile (see p. 253). The whole line in which this word is embodied is rather puzzling. It is especially difficult to explain חוג in this context. It may be the equivalent of גלגל used extensively by medieval Jewish philosophers with reference to the celestial spheres to which are attributed certain causal powers. Cf. Halevi's רק נהגם גלגל (ZYH, i. bk. 3, p. 32); הרסו אשר בנו . . . מסבת גלגלים (ZYH, ii. 98). Cf. also *ibid.* ii. 32 and 304 in both of which we have גלגל נחם. It will, however, perhaps fit more the context with reference to Ezek. i. 21, the "turning upon hinge" indicating, as it does in Prov. xxvi. 4, lack of movement (cf. ובעמד of Ezek. i. 21). כל חוג in this case will then perhaps refer to the spheres occupied by the four companies of the celestial beings. Cf. Gabirol's poem beginning with שנאים שאננים (Gabirol, iii. 60-1) and his *Kether Malkhūth* (*ibid.* lines 199-215).

<sup>1</sup> My translation of this word approaches the connotation given it in some medieval Hebrew texts. The manuscript reads first *tāw* with *pathah*.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript reads עֲמִד. Note the masculine—poetic licence, due to the metre. Cf. however, Ezek. xxviii. 12, where מלא may be taken as the adjective of תכנית. See n. 3, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lev. iii. 5. Here it seems to be the rendering of לא יסבו בלכתם of Ezek. i. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ps. xvi. 5.

<sup>5</sup> A *hapax*; cf. Job xxxiv. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ezek. i. 16.

<sup>7</sup> A notion drawn from Ezekiel's "Divine Chariot" seems to be again in evidence here as the line appears to bear on "whithersoever הרוח was to go, they (the living beings of the chariot) went" (Ezek. i. 20), הרוח being taken traditionally as referring to the fiat of God which is revered, feared and obeyed by them. (Cf., e.g. Targ. and Rashi *ad hoc*). Cf. *sôghēr* of line 9.

<sup>8</sup> The manuscript reads דוּמָם, for which cf. אבן דומם (Hab. ii. 19). I have, however, followed the pointing common in the more modern Hebrew texts for this word which obviously means "inanimate". See following notes.

<sup>9</sup> The various "beings" as found in the world are usually grouped into four divisions by medieval Hebrew scholars in the following order מרגיש. Here, however, the last two seem to be included in מרגיש. (Cf. Qimhi's division as recorded in his commentary on Jer. x. 8, where these last two are instead included in חי.)

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Num. i. 8.

גֹּשׁ עֲפָרִי לְבִיא וְלֵשׁ׃	14
תְּבַנִּיתֶם חֲתוּם בְּחוֹתֶם׃	
וְצִרּוֹרִי עִם רָאמוֹת וְנָבִישׁ׃	15
מִיסוֹד אֶרֶבַע תּוֹלְדוֹתֶם׃	
כֻּלָּם גְּזוּנִים בְּאִזְרוֹרִי	16
וּמִכְלִילֵל הַכֹּל בְּחִנּוֹ	

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Job vii. 5. The word גֹּשׁ, a *hapax* in the Bible, has been disputed by medieval Hebrew philologists (see e.g. Ibn Ezra on Job vii. 5, who alone records three different views concerning its meaning advanced by scholars). Does גֹּשׁ imply here, as it does, e.g. in Bab. Mez. 101a (see *Mūsaph He-'Arûkh*, Amsterdam, 1655, v- (גש), a clod of earth along with its attached roots, this being more in keeping with צומח of the *deleth* of line 13?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Isa. xxx. 6. For the violation of the metre here, see n. 6, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> The last line is of some significance concerning the text of the Bible. The reading accepted in Ezek. xxviii. 12 is אתה חותם תכנית. The difficulty of the text is obvious. Some manuscripts give other readings. (See e.g. *Biblia Hebraica*. There is some indication that Targ. and Rashi had also a reading other than the accepted one). The text in the mind of the poet as suggested in our line might have well been חותם תבנית. For תבנית as masculine, cf. perhaps Ezek. viii. 10. See n. 2, p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> For the translation, see 2 Sam. xvii. 13, but perhaps to be taken here figuratively, as the case is in Amos ix. 9, translating it "and grain of wheat", and thus bearing on צומח of line 13. See n. 9, p. 261 and n. 1 above.

<sup>5</sup> This phrase drawn from Job xxviii. 18 is a favourite with Halevi. Cf., e.g. ZYH, i. bk. 3, 63, 86, 180, 363; ii. 178. In the manuscript גאביש—due to *homoioteuton*, the copyist having in his mind's eye the word preceding it, which has an extra vocalic 'āleph. In keeping, however, with line 13 (see preceding note) in which מרגיש is embodied, one wonders whether the poet did not intend to play on ראמות, taking it as ראמים.

<sup>6</sup> The four elements being earth, water, air and fire—extensively referred to by medieval writers as the main simple substances of which all material bodies are compounded.

<sup>7</sup> We have here again a reference to the idea of emanation; not only are the celestial beings emanated by the light of the Prime Cause, but also all material beings. For the pointing of גזונים (Niph'al of וזן), cf. the vocalic *yôdh* which frequently follows the *nûn* in this word (as well as in those of other Niph'al 'ayin *wāw* participles) in post-Biblical texts. For גזון followed by *bêth*, cf. Ber. 28a.

<sup>8</sup> = ומתכלל, the preformative *tāw* being assimilated to the (first) *kaph*. Similarly, Num. xxi. 27; Prov. xxvi. 26. (See n. 1, p. 260.) However, one may read here also either ומכללל, which is also a passive, parallel with גזונים of its preceding line, or ומכלכל, the reference being to God, the line in which it is embodied thus reflecting מכלכל חיים בחסד (second of the Eighteen Benedictions).

כָּל מִן עַל אֶרֶץ יִסְדוּ <sup>1</sup>	17
גִּזְרֵם תְּפִיל יִמְנוּ	
הַגִּזְרֵם הַזֶּה חֵי מְדַבֵּר	18
מִתּוֹךְ כָּל מְרַבֵּי בְּשִׁכְלוֹ	
אֵשׁ אֶחָד חֵיל יִגְבֵּר	19
הָעַם בָּחַר נִחְלָה לוֹ	
וּקְדוּשׁוֹת שָׁלֹשׁ יַחֲבִיר	20
בְּשִׁרְפִים וּצְבָא זְבוּלוֹ <sup>10</sup>	
מִחֲנֶה מוֹל מִחֲנֶה יִצְרוּ <sup>11</sup>	21
כָּל פָּעַל הָאֵל לְמַעַנוֹ <sup>12</sup>	
נִקְדָּשִׁים כָּלֵם לְעִבְדוֹ <sup>13</sup>	22
לְתַת כֶּתֶר אֶל גְּאוֹנוֹ <sup>14</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Namely, those included in line 13. For the last three words, cf. Amos ix. 6.

<sup>2</sup> For the wording, cf. Prov. i. 14. Here obviously a philosophical notion is implied.

<sup>3</sup> Note the spiritual connotation given here to these words; in Exod. xxix. 26, the reference is to the waving and heaving-up of the breast-offering.

<sup>4</sup> See n. 9, p. 261.

<sup>5</sup> A medieval Hebrew technical term indicating the compounds of matter. Here the reference is to man's highly developed mind.

<sup>6</sup> Emblematical term for Israel. Cf. 2 Sam. vii. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eccles. x. 10 and Job xxi. 7. My translation here, however, is in tone with the context.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 12 and note the slight deviation due to the metre. Cf. also Ps. cxxxv. 4.

<sup>9</sup> The reference is to קדוש קדוש קדוש of Isa. vi. 3 incorporated in the *Qedhûshâh* (a solemn proclamation of God's holiness recited following the second Benediction of the *Amîdhâh* prayer). The wording here accords well with קדושה המשלשים of the first paragraph of the *Qedhûshâh* according to the *Spanish rite*.

<sup>10</sup> A common expression in Halevi's poetry. זבול according to Hag. 12b is "the fourth of the seven heavens in which there are the heavenly Jerusalem . . . with the altar erected at which Michael the Great Prince stands . . .". See following notes.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. לעומתם "over against them" (third paragraph of the *Qedhûshâh*). See n. 13 below.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Prov. xvi. 4.

<sup>13</sup> For the last three lines, cf. *Pirqê d'R. 'Eli'ezer* (end of chap. 4): "Two seraphim one on the right . . . and one on His left (stand and) exalt and sanctify His great name . . ., saying *qādhôsh qādhôsh qādhôsh* . . . and the *hayyôth*, standing near His glory and not knowing the place of His glory, answer and say 'wherever be the place of His glory, Blessed be the glory of God', and Israel, the *one* people in the earth answer and say. . . ."

<sup>14</sup> The mentions here of כתר tallies again (see n. 9 above) with the wording

## 'Ôphān

- 1 The Creator is hidden in his creation,  
Yet there is a distance between Him and it ;
- 2 The (whole) earth is full of His glory,  
Yet there is no (confined) place for His presence.
- 3 He issues intellects out of His spirit—  
(Intellects) grouped according to their service.
- 4 They are endowed with His virtues,  
Their source emanating from His holy light.
- 5 Each of them has his functions—  
Powers according to his rank.
- 6 One unto another sends forth His word ;  
(One unto another) emits His fountain-light.
- 7 All their meditation is (focused) on Him in Whom they take delight,  
Their desire (being) to be like their Owner.
- 8 And through His breath that garnishes the heavens  
They (either) run straight forward,
- 9 Or (stand) firm, (shining) like a looking-glass—  
His awe being upon their hearts.
- 10 They now draw, now empty ;  
“ And their running is their vessels”.
- 11 If each wheel turns upon its hinge  
Their disposition remains unchanged.
- 12 Comely is their work,  
His Will directing all their deeds.
- 13 Inanimate, plant and animate  
Are formed into distinct families ;
- 14 Clods of earth, the lioness and the lion  
Have their well-stamped pattern ;
- 15 Pebble, coral and crystal  
Have their origin in the Four Elements ;
- 16 All of them are nurtured by His light—  
All of them are sustained by His grace.
- 17 (It is) He that founded each kind in the earth,  
His right hand determining their lot.
- 18 The speech-endowed animate has been lifted up and elevated—  
Above all else it is he whose intellect is the more complex.

of the *Qedhûshāh* for the *Mûsāph* Prayer according to the *Spanish rite* which begins with כתר יחנן לך. Cf. Halevi's לבשו אימה וכתר הוד לך חבשו (ZYH, iii. 132) with regard to seraphim.

- 19 (Among the speech-endowed) there is one (people) who excels in worth—  
It is the people whom He has chosen as an inheritance for himself—  
20 (The people) who recites *qādhôsh* thrice repeated  
In the manner of seraphim and the host of His lofty abode.  
21 He has formed band opposite band—  
All He has done being for His own sake;  
22 All of them are sanctified to worship Him—  
To offer a crown to His glory.

Poem 45.

Before theorizing about the possible authorship of this poem by Halevi, the following examination of its form and context is, as was the case with poem 41, necessary. The structure of this poem—an '*Ahabhāh*'<sup>1</sup>—resembles that of poem 41, except for the rhyme of the first *muwashshaḥ* (the *pethiḥāh*),<sup>2</sup> the first *deleth* of which, ending in *rî*, leads the remaining nine *delāthôth*, and the first *sôghēr* of which, ending in *-ar*, leads the remaining nine *sôgherîm*. It also embodies acrostically the name יהודה, and the letters of which it is made up are spelt out in the very same manner in which they are spelt out in poem 41, namely only the *yôdh*, its initial letter, makes the first letter of the first *deleth* of the opening *muwashshaḥ*, the remaining four letters being embodied respectively at the beginning of the four strophes. The metre is --υ--/-υ-- for the *delāthôth* of both the five *muwashshaḥat* and the four strophes, and -υ--/-υ-- for all the respective *sôgherîm*.<sup>3</sup> We thus have here a scheme of the *kamil* type—a scheme of Arabic origin—not infrequently employed by Hebrew poets of the Spanish School in their compositions. This poem, however, has structurally less in common with the twenty-nine of Halevi's '*Ahabhôth*' (see ZYH, iii, 197-244).

The ideas and emotions expressed in the poem again reflect those of Halevi's as observed in the *Kuzari* on the one hand and in many poems known to be his on the other. The pre-eminence of the Land of Zion is one of the prime notions dominating the

<sup>1</sup> See n. 2, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> See n. 6, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> For the violation of the accepted grammatical rules with regard to the *shewā*, see n. 7, p. 253.



*Kuzari*. It is the best, the most inspiring of lands. This is passionately spoken about and proved in elaborate arguments in the *Kuzari*, ii. 13-14 and referred to intermittently elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> As seen above, Halevi holds that Divine Light, which penetrates all the phenomena of nature, is felt the stronger in persons belonging to the highest "realm". It is to be added here that Halevi also holds that Divine Light attains its full strength only in people connected with the Holy Land where temple-cult is practised.<sup>2</sup> Here Halevi was not merely preaching. His journey to Zion, announced at the end of the *Kuzari*, which he actually undertook, defying hazards and not taking heed of the advice of friends, seems to be the logical conclusion of his way of reasoning. The suffering caused by exile ("in prison"; see *deleth* of line 17), the burning love for Zion and the longing for temple practices are expressed in abundance in our poem, as indeed they are in his other poems, notably in the ode beginning "Zion! wilt thou not ask if peace be with thy captives". The idea of the Kingdom of God and His Glory, which is also a dominant feature in the *Kuzari*<sup>3</sup> and his poems, stands out in relief in the poem under review.

Phrases and expressions in his poems recalling those of ours are again numerous and only a small selection from them can be given here. For *deleth* of the first line, cf. ושב הצבי אל חדרריך (ZYH, iii. 269); וצבי מאס בי מתי אעלהו בית אבי (ZYH, iii. 394); תשוב כאז אל בית מלוני (ZYH, iii. 174). For lines 2-3, cf. רב למשנאים בנקם לעכר (ZYH, iii. 163); ... וצר אלי סר ... והחריב ... מקום מדרך (ZYH, iii. 281). For lines 11-12, cf. אשמע בחצר קול למשרתי (ZYH, iii. 200); ... בעבור קול מבשרים ... בא זמן הדרור ובהר קדשך (ZYH, iii. 177); שומרי הליכות בית הודי בקדשי ישירו (ZYH, iii. 215).

For peculiar syntax recalling חשבו ... ואשר of *deleth* of line 8, cf. ואשר לא נעודו (ZYH, iii. 123); ... ואשר חשב (ZYH, iii. 178); ואשר דברם לבי יעקב (ZYH, iii. 180); ואשר בידו הצרי (ZYH, iii. 227); ואשר בריתך (ZYH, iii. 651).

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. *Kuzari*, i, 20; ii. 12, 26; iii. 21 (end); iv. 23; v. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See *Kuzari*, ii. 26.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., *Kuzari* iv (end). See also G. Sholem, *Hathḥalōth Ha-Qabbālāh*, *Keneseth*, x. 220-1.

The following is the poem reconstructed, annotated and translated :

אהבה

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | יָשׁוּב צָבִי <sup>1</sup> יָשׁוּב לְחֻדְרִי |
|   | יָשׁוּב עָלַי כְּסֵא יִקָּרִי                |
| 2 | רַב מְהִיזוֹתִי מִרְמָס חֲצָרִי              |
|   | מִשְׁלַחִי לְעַם נִזְכְּרֵי חֲרִי            |
| 3 | הָעֵת לָךְ לְתִמְחֹךְ מִשְׁנָאִי             |
|   | שָׁבַט מְלוֹכָה לַעֲצוֹר <sup>2</sup>        |
| 4 | עָלַי וְצוֹר חֲזָקִי בְּקִרְאִי              |
|   | יַעֲרִיר חֲסָדָיו לַעֲזוֹרִי                 |
| 5 | יִדְעוּ רְחוּקִים יוֹשְׁבֵי אֵי <sup>3</sup> |
|   | כִּי אֵין לְנוֹגִים <sup>4</sup> מִעֲצוֹר    |

<sup>1</sup> In medieval Hebrew poetry of the Spanish School—apparently under the influence of its equivalent in Arabic—"a young beloved male", but here an emblematical term for God as a symbol of kingdom, צָבִי being taken allegorically as God in Cant. Rab. on Cant. ii. 9. See also Cant. viii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The whole hemistich reflects Cant. Rab. on Cant. i. 4: "May my beloved one (i.e. God; see preceding note) come *legannô*" (Cant. iv. 16)—*leginnûmô* ("to his boldachin", "to his state room").

<sup>3</sup> The expression כְּסֵא יִקָּרִי is used by Halevi in ZYH, iii. 180. For a similar adjectival idea expressed by the substantive יִקָּרִי in the genitive, cf. Prov. xx. 15. The Kingdom of God, a notion cherished by Halevi, is obviously implied in the last line. <sup>4</sup> Cf. Exod. ix. 28. <sup>5</sup> For linguistic echoes, cf. Isa. i. 12 and vii. 25.

<sup>6</sup> The *qāmeẓ* of the *wāw*-conjunctive of this word as well as of the *wāws* of the words concluding the *sôgherîm* of lines 6, 7, and 12, is considered from the metrical point of view as a *shewā* mobile. <sup>7</sup> Cf. Haggai, i. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. שָׁבַט לְמִשְׁלָל (Ezek. xix. 4). For עֲצָר = מִשְׁלָל, cf. 1 Sam. ix. 17, used with reference to the reigning of a king.

<sup>9</sup> The peculiar syntax in the last two hemistichs is obviously due to the metre. However, for a similar anomalous *wāw*-conjunctive, cf. Amos iii. 11; for בְּקִרְאִי not followed by an (explicit) adjective, cf. Ps. iv. 2; for וְצוֹר in the Hiph'il followed by עָלַי, cf. Ps. lxxviii. 38; for the strange use of the infinitive לַעֲזוֹר, cf. the *qerê* in 2 Sam. viii. 5; cf. also 2 Chron. xix. 2. See S. R. Driver, *Books of Samuel* (2nd edn.), p. 281.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ps. lxxv. 6 and Isa. lxvi. 19. However, here we seem to have two parallel members, יִדְעוּ being implied in the second member.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Zeph. iii. 18, where the reference is to those who "are sorrowful for the solemn assembly".

- 6 לְבִנּוֹת בַּיּוֹם רָצוֹן גְּדֵרֵי  
 אֶקְדַּח וְסוֹחֶרֶת וְדָרִי  
 לְכָבוֹד שְׁמוֹ נוֹכַח דְּבִירֵי  
 יִשְׁתַּחֲווּ מֶלֶךְ וְשָׂרִי  
 8 [וְאֶשֶׁר] בַּיּוֹם מוֹסֵר יְדִידוֹתִי  
 חָשְׁבוּ לְהַפֵּר הַבְּרִיתִי  
 9 יַעֲטוּ בַיּוֹם נֶקֶם הַחֲדוֹתִי  
 דִּמְעָם כְּמִי נִחַל כְּרִיתִי  
 10 רָגַע וְחָשׂ לְמוֹ עֲתִידוֹתִי  
 וּלְפֹעֲלֵי יֵשׁ אַחֲרִיתִי<sup>10</sup>  
 11 קָרַב<sup>11</sup> וּמַהֲרָה יוֹם דְּרוֹרֵי<sup>11</sup>  
 אֲשַׁמֶּעַ מַחְצָר<sup>11</sup> בַּחֲצָר  
 12 קִדְשִׁי<sup>12</sup> וְעַל הָרִי מְגוֹרֵי<sup>12</sup>  
 רָנָה וְקוֹל נוֹגֵן וְשָׂרִי

<sup>1</sup> A combination of Mic. vii. 11 and Isa. lviii. 5. The "Good-will Day" serves as a theme in Halevi's poems. Cf., e.g. ZYH, iii. 608.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Isa. liv. 12 and Esther i. 6.

<sup>3</sup> A favourite phrase in Halevi's poetry. Cf., e.g. ZYH, iii. 680, 691.

<sup>4</sup> Elliptical for וְהַאֲשִׁים אֲשֶׁר. Similarly, Judges xx. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמִנוֹ (Isa. liii. 5). The reference here is to God's love for Israel which has changed, suffering being now inflicted upon them as a disciplinary measure. <sup>6</sup> Cf. Ezek. xvii. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 8 and lix. 17 and Ezek. xxvi. 16.

<sup>8</sup> The brook by which Elija hid himself (see 1 Kings xvii. 3). For the attribution of tears to a river, cf. "let tears run down like a river day and night" (Lam. ii. 18). The use of *Cherith* here seems to be dictated by the rhyme as is the case with a line in Halevi's poem (ZYH, iii. 696). Cf., however, ZYH, ii. 86, where we see the rivers Pishon and Gihon and Prath (see Gen. ii. 11, 14) crying over one of the poet's friends; in this case there was no dictation by the rhyme. דַּמַּע, instead of דַּמְעָה, is common in post-Biblical Hebrew; cf., however, Exod. xxii. 28. <sup>9</sup> Cf. Deut. xxxii. 35.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Jer. xxxi. 17. The manuscript reads וְלִפְעוֹלֵי, but it is obvious that the copyist, having apparently copied from a text using here the *plena* spelling, has ignorantly pointed it as a participle (see n. 2, p. 258).

<sup>11</sup> The manuscript reads *qôph* with *pathah*.

<sup>12</sup> Contrast this expression with יוֹם רָצוֹן (*deleth* of line 6); יוֹם מוֹסֵר יְדִידוֹת (*deleth* of line 8); and יוֹם נֶקֶם (*deleth* of line 9).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the *qerê* in 2 Chron. v. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Isa. lxii. 9. The reference here is to temple practices. See 2 Chron. vii. 6 and especially *ibid.* xxix. 28. <sup>15</sup> For the singular, see Ps. lv. 16.

- דָּרְךָ לְבֵית מַלְכִי סְלוּלָה 13  
 דָּרְךָ גְּאוּלִּים לְעֶבֶר<sup>1</sup>  
 יִשְׁפַל מְרוֹם גְּבָעָה וְצוּלָה 14  
 תִּתְחַרְבֵּי וְקוֹל קוֹרָא דְרֹר  
 אֲרָצִי, עַד־יָם סוּף גְּבוּלָה 15  
 וּבָיִם פְּלִשְׁתִּים יַעֲבֹרִי  
 חֲבוּשׁ עָלַי רֹאשִׁי פֶּאֶרִי 16  
 יִקָּר כְּבוֹדִי עַל דְּבָרִי  
 עֲמָדִי לְמַחְזִיקִי בֵּית אֲסוּרִי 17  
 לֹא מַעֲדוּ רַגְלִי בְצָרִי  
 הִוְכַן לָךְ כִּסֵּא מְשִׁיחִי<sup>10</sup> 18  
 קוֹם נָא שָׁבָה עָלַי לְדוֹר<sup>11</sup>  
 כִּי לֹא בִחַל אֶךְ בְּרוּחִי<sup>12</sup> 19  
 בְּהֶמּוֹן לְאוֹמִים<sup>13</sup> תַּעֲצוֹר  
 עֲדָרִי תִנְהַל בֵּית מְנוּחִי<sup>14</sup> 20  
 מִפִּי אֲרִי תִצִּיל וְגוֹר<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Isa. li. 10.    <sup>2</sup> Cf. Isa. xl. 4 and Jer. li. 53.    <sup>3</sup> Cf. Isa. xlv. 27.

<sup>4</sup> A combination of Isa. xl. 3 and Jer. xxxiv. 17 and Lev. xxv. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. "and I will set thy bounds from the Red Sea even unto the Sea of the Philistines" (Exod. xxiii. 31). See also *Kuzari*, iv. 3 (towards the end).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ezek. xxiv. 17 (contrast Jonah ii. 6). Here the reference is obviously to some headgear of distinction. Note that in Yer. Sab. VI פֶּאֶר is taken, with reference to Ezek. xxiv. 23, as meaning "a crown". It is so rendered in Targ. to Isa. lxi. 3. For a similar expression by Halevi implying a similar idea, cf. ZYH, i, bk. 1, p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> For על דְּבָרִי in the sense of "because of", cf. Gen. xx. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Unlike Dan. xi. 1, whence this phrase is drawn, where לְמַחְזִיק is used substantively and עֲמָדִי = עֲמָדָתִי with the apparent reference to Michael mentioned in its preceding verse, the reference here is to the defiance shown to the gaol-keeper, not submissively accepting the verdict of being a permanent exile. Here, then, לְמַחְזִיק = . . . לַגֹּד, for which cf. Dan. x. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ps. xviii. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Isa. xvi. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Here = לְדוֹר וָדוֹר (or without the *wāw*-conjunctive) as it seems to be the case with that of Ps. lxxi. 18; see Targum's rendering.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Zech. iv. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ps. lxxv. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Exod. xv. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Amos iii. 12. Note the strange syntax due to the metre. Cf. perhaps, however, Isa. xlviii. 16.

יָשׁוּב שְׂאָר עַמִּי בְּחִירִי 21  
 בֵּית יַעֲקֹב יָשׁוּב שְׂאָר<sup>1</sup>  
 וְלֹא־הִבַּת חֲסִדוֹ בְּזָכְרִי 22  
 אֶקְרָא דְרוֹר מִמַּאֲסָר

## 'Ahabhāh

- 1 May the Beloved-one come back—come back to my chamber ;  
May he again sit on (the) precious throne.
- 2 Enough for my court to be a trampling-place—  
(A place) where an alien and strange people is let loose.
- 3 " Is it time for Thee to support my adversaries—  
To make them wield a regal sceptre? "
- 4 (Surely), when I shall call to my God, the rock of my strength,  
He will awaken His kindness to help.
- 5 Let them know that are far-off ; let the inhabitants of the isle (be aware)  
That there be no restraint for the grieved
- 6 To (re-)build on the Good-will Day my wall  
Of carbuncle and white and black marble.
- 7 (Then) to the glory of His name, facing the Temple,  
Will king and ruler bow.
- 8 And those who on the day when friendship was chastised  
Thought of breaking the covenant
- 9 Will on the Day of Vengeance be seized with fear,  
Their tears (flowing) as (do) the waters of Cherith.
- 10 Suddenly and swiftly will come upon them the things prepared for them,  
And to my work—the promised prosperity.
- 11 " Bring near and hasten the Day of Liberation,  
(So that) I may hear the clarion's (sound) in my holy court,
- 12 And in the residence of my hill-country  
(The) chanting and the voice of player and singer."
- 13 The way to the house of my king is cast up—  
A way for the redeemed to pass over.
- 14 The height of the hill will be made low and the deep  
Will be made dry, and a voice will proclaim the liberation
- 15 Of my country whose bounds will reach the Red Sea  
And pass along the Sea of the Philistines.

<sup>1</sup> For the last two hemistichs, cf. Isa. vii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. " Yea, I have loved thee with אהבת עולם ; therefore with חסד have I drawn thee " (Jer. xxxi. 2). The use of וְלֹא־הִבַּת instead of . . . וְאֵת is dictated by the metre. Cf., however, Ps. cxlv. 14 and Ezek. xxxiv. 4. Note that we have here an allusion to the title of the poem which is here אהבה. See n. 2, p. 249.



- 16 My luxurious tire is on my head.  
My honour grows because
- 17 I stood against the keeper of my prison-house ;  
(Because) my feet did not slip in adversity.
- 18 —‘ The throne, O, my annointed, is set up for thee,  
‘ Arise, I pray thee, sit upon it for ever,
- 19 ‘ For not by might, but by My spirit  
‘ Wilt thou restrain the roaring nations,
- 20 ‘ And lead My flock into My house of rest—  
‘ (The flock) thou hast rescued from the mouth of the lion and (its) whelp.’
- 21 ‘ The remnant of my chosen people will return—  
‘ (To) the house of Jacob the remnant will return,
- 22 ‘ And on remembering the love of his *hesedh*  
‘ I shall proclaim (his) release from prison.’

Does the detailed picture we have gained of the two poems enable us now to resolve the question of authorship propounded above? Not with full certainty. For though much data has been adduced both in the introductory remarks to the poems and in the textual notes to them, showing the affinity between them and Halevi, there are a few features in the poems which cast some doubt on this affinity. As regards poem 41 the doubt arises first and foremost from the fact that it contains systematically worked-out Neoplatonic notions. This kind of philosophy, expressed in so clear-cut a manner, seems somewhat alien to Halevi's *general* way of thinking. And though in some isolated instances it appears not to be against the letter of his *Kuzari*, it is certainly against its spirit. Another doubt stems from some linguistic phenomena. The coining of new nouns and forms of verbs and what seems like a special effort to look for, and make use of, the unusual in the language, is not a characteristic feature in the 670 or so of Yehudah Halevi's known poems. Unlike Gabirol, who in numerous of his *piyyuṭim* followed the Palestinian School of poets, liberally coining new linguistic forms, Halevi has done it very sparingly. Our poem, as will be gathered from the notes, tends to negate this impression. Then, again, some lines contain expressions which, by comparison with the generally highly refined and smoothly flowing style of writing known to have been employed by Halevi, look decidedly

unpolished. As regards poem 45—a poem in a lighter vein than poem 41—though in several ways it recalls many of Halevi's poems, it, too, contains one or two lines which have a non-Halevic ring. Line 4, *sôghēr* of line 16, *deleth* of line 17 and *sôghēr* of line 20 are examples of this; they are not sufficiently pliant for such a master of the Hebrew language as Halevi. In its content, too, the *sôghēr* of line 9, though similarly found elsewhere in Halevi's poetry, appears here, in its special context, rather affected and weak. Again, accustomed as we are to find Halevi's ideas echoing and re-echoing themselves in a variety of ways in many of his poems, we may wonder why the hemistichs which speak about the stand made against the adversary and the growth of honour resulting from it (see *sôghēr* of line 16 and line 17)—an idea which shows dignity in the down-trodden Jew of the Middle Ages—should not have found its reflection in some of his known poems.

Do we, then, have here a pre-Halevi Halevi? Were these poems composed by Halevi when he was still very young—his poetical tools inevitably lacking perfection, his language not having yet acquired its full colour and his philosophies still in their formative stage, drawing in some respects on a school of thought discarded by him at a later stage of his life? This is a tempting theory, which should prove of great interest could it be established by further research based on additional material. On the other hand, the possibility of the poems having been written by a poet (or poets) of the name Yehudah who flourished between, say, the middle of the twelfth and the end of the thirteenth century, about whom history has left no record, cannot be ruled out. It may well be that, like many known poets of Spain and Provence and beyond, they, too, were influenced by Halevi's works, following him in many ways in style and sharing much of his philosophical outlook. Be this as it may, the poet, or poets, who were given an honourable place amongst the brilliant company assembled in our Haggadah deserve full attention and study.





